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An Examination of Miguel De Unamuno's Thought Concerning Pauline Theology Seen in the Light of Modern Scripture Studies

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**AN EXAMINATION OF MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO'S
THOUGHT CONCERNING PAULINE THEOLOGY
SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN
SCRIPTURE STUDIES**

by

Albert M. Gallegos, O.S.M.

**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Loyola University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Arts**

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A U T O B I O G R A P H Y

Brother Albert M. Gallegos, O.S.M., was born in Belen, a town in southwestern New Mexico, on July 11, 1936. After receiving his primary education in Belen, he entered the minor seminary of the Servite Fathers at Hillside, Illinois, where he completed his high school studies. The first two years after graduation from the minor seminary found him pursuing his first year of college work and a year of Novitiate at Mount Saint Phillip College in Milwaukee. Following his stay in Milwaukee, he traveled to Our Lady of Benburb Priory, Benburb, County Tyrone, Northern Ireland, for two more years of college study with an emphasis on philosophy. His final year of undergraduate studies was taken at Loyola University from which he received an A.B. with a double major, Philosophy and Spanish. Since then he has been studying Theology at Stonebridge Priory, Lake Bluff, Illinois, while working on a Master's Degree in Spanish Literature during the summer sessions.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo, is a Spanish literary figure coming to the fore in contemporary thought. His influence has already been felt in Spanish and Latin American countries as well as in some countries in Europe. Students who are deeply concerned with the Spanish enigma can nowhere find a more authentic or cryptic expression of the present day Spanish temperament than in the writings of Miguel de Unamuno. In Unamuno we have an essayist, philosopher, novelist, short-story writer, poet--in short, one of the most original thinkers of contemporary Spain.

Unamuno was a thinker who would not be classified, and so could not be a party man; he brought small consolation to any group who claimed him as its own. Unamuno's fiercely unique, critical attitude is perhaps best represented in the main source from which this thesis is drawn: Del sentimiento trágico de la vida en los hombres y en los pueblos.

Unamuno is sometimes called and referred to as the Spanish Kierkegaard. He was what the Danish philosopher might have been had he lived in a Latin and Catholic atmosphere rather than in a Scandinavian and Lutheran one.

In answer to an inquiry concerning his religion, Unamuno replied that he could not state his position doctrinally, but only in terms of the attitude which he assumed towards life. He said that all men have some supreme interest or ruling passion, and that his was a permanent concern for the religious situation of his time and his people. He lashed out with satire at the emptiness of men in high positions of government, at the lust, obscenity and materialism which was becoming a substitute for serious dedication to man's greatest problems, at sham democracy and the bovine unconcern with social responsibility. Neither Catholic dogma, liberal unbelief, or even skeptical resignation satisfied his questioning spirit. Unamuno gave himself up to endless inquiry into the great themes of solitude and society, war and peace, love and hatred, immortality and man's longing for eternity, of personality and of Christian life.

From Unamuno, therefore, no final answers can be expected: he sought only to divert attention, redirect it to these questions, and then plant a seed where others may reap.

Concerning the religious attitudes of Unamuno, therefore, no definite answers will be given in this work. It will, however, attempt to show that Unamuno's interpretation of St. Paul, especially in his major works, Del sentimiento trágico de la vida en los hombres y en los pueblos and La agonía del cristianismo, was not as far from the mind of Paul as was formerly thought. In saying this, we are not saying in effect that Unamuno believed as St. Paul did. In fact, here lies the basic difference between the two men--St. Paul believed all that he preached; Unamuno did not believe that preaching! In short, Unamuno did not have the true lived faith in Christianity that St. Paul had. Our contention in this paper is that Unamuno, being so learned in Greek and in ancient classical and Hebrew literary structure, was in many ways already anticipating what later Scripture studies would reveal concerning key ideas in the theology of Saint Paul.

Unamuno said that St. Paul was the first great mystic, the first Christian in the proper sense of the word.¹ Unamuno was fascinated with St. Paul--with his intelligence and his thinking. He uses the ideas of St. Paul (because he understood them) to express his own inner experience which he wished to convey to others. Like St. Theresa of Avila, Unamuno could not find words to express his inner convictions. He found words with the help of St. Paul.

For Unamuno St. Paul was not then merely the first great Christian but, "It was St. Paul who turned the evangelical into the biblical, the Word into the letter".²

Unamuno does not stop here. He continues: "But while the Word, the Verbum did not write, St. Paul, the Hellenized Jew, the Platonically inclined Pharisee, did

¹Miguel de Unamuno, The Agony of Christianity, translation Kurt F. Reinhardt (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1960) pp. 24-25.

²Unamuno, *Ibid.*, p. 42.

write, or more correctly, did dictate his Epistles. In St. Paul, the Word turned into letters, the Gospel became a book, the Bible":³

So, according to Unamuno, it was St. Paul who was responsible for creating Christianity. It was St. Paul who dominated the Christian scene in the early days. Indeed, we are in full agreement with the latter assertion of Unamuno, yet Unamuno was forgetting that St. Paul was nothing but an instrument in the hands of One infinitely greater than himself. Paul the "vessel of election" was sent not on his own behalf, but on behalf of Another. It is true that Paul was the central figure in the conversion of the nations, but only because he had been chosen for the mission by the Founder of Christianity. Unamuno's claim that St. Paul was the founder of Christianity as we know it today, is entirely false, and it is not necessary to look far into the Epistles of Paul to hear himself tell us this. Unamuno's insight into St. Paul in this matter

³Unamuno, Ibid., p. 40.

was negligent. Even with his great mind and power of absorbing, Unamuno many times read in between the lines and forgot to read the lines themselves; for we need only look at the salutations in Paul's letters to see his complete dependence on Christ:

"Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, by the
order of God our Savior." (I Tim. 1.1)

"Paul, a servant of God and an apostle of
Jesus Christ." (Titus, 1.1)

"Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the
will of God." (Colossians 1.1).

MIGUEL de UNAMUNO

Chapter II

Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo, was born on September 29, 1864, in Bilbao, the capital of the Basque Province of Biscay. On both sides his people were Basques, that is to say, he springs from a stock whose origins are untraceable in the ordinary historical sense. The Basques have been called descendents of aberrant Moors, original Iberians, lost Atlantians. There are certain physical peculiarities about them: a wedge form face and great breadth at the temples. The language of the Basque is uniquely agglutinative, and is the only language which has survived from the ancient Iberian tongues.

Unamuno was always profoundly aware of his "Basqueness" even throughout his struggle against the political nationalism prevailing in that region. Far from believing that being Basque and Spanish at the same time were incompatible, he often urged that the Basques are the substance and, as it were, the salt of Spain. Unamuno (whose name clearly spells "One World") appeared among these people, and like

literary Basques before him determined to make Castilian Spanish his own by "right of conquest."⁴ Yet, the unusual position in Spanish history of his Basque forefathers and their language, not to mention their unique position in world history, philology, or anthropology, is strangely analogous to Unamuno's own position in contemporary Spanish literature. He was a man of no determined school, and it was never even quite clear in the end whether he was in favor of Europeanizing Africanized Spain, or of rediscovering Spain outside of Europe.

After receiving his primary education in his native city, he entered the Institutio Vizceanino of Bilbao. He read avidly such authors as Jaime Balmes, Juan Donoso Cortés, and Antonio Trueba along with many Spanish Romantic writers. José Mora notes concerning this period of his life:

⁴Miguel de Unamuno, Abel Sanchez and Other Stories, translation Anthony Kerrigan (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1956), pp. 7-17.

It seems that the one experience that dwarfed all others was the discovery, in his fervid and random reading of an entirely new world: the world of ideas. He begins to love poetry--the poetry of the poets and the poetry of the philosophers.⁵

In 1880 Unamuno entered the University of Madrid to study philosophy and the humanities. The four years he spent in the capital were years of religious and intellectual crisis. It also appears that the city was not much to his liking, nor does it seem that he was greatly influenced by University life. It was only during the lifetime of Ortega y Gasset that the University of Madrid gained prestige and influence.

After four years of study, debates, and long walks he received his doctorate, and then returned to the Basque province to an outwardly uneventful life. He earned his living by giving tutor lessons and, at the same time, he read much in preparation for his professional competitive examinations. From here he went to Madrid, and spent several months taking various examinations for a teaching

⁵José F. Mora, Unamuno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 8-9.

position. After many attempts at different positions, he won the chair of Greek at the University of Salamanca. Menéndez y Pelayo and Valera were among his examiners.

It was in 1891 that Unamuno married his childhood sweetheart, Concepción Lizarraga, by whom he later had nine children. In that same year he met Angel Ganivet in whom he recognized a restless spirit very much akin to his own. This encounter between the two was indeed an encouragement for Unamuno because he now felt that he was no longer alone in his "struggle."

Late in 1891 he moved to Salamanca to take up his position there. Crawford Flitch has given us a description, or rather a photograph of Unamuno as he appeared to him:

A tall, broad-shouldered bony man, with high cheeks, a beak-like nose, pointed grey beard, and a complexion the colour of the red hematites on which Bilbao, his native town is built, and which Bilbao ruthlessly plucks from its very body to exchange for gold in the markets of England--and in the deep sockets under the high aggressive forehead prolonged by short iron-grey hair, two eyes like gimlets eagerly watching the world through spectacles which seem purposely pointed at the object like microscopes. A fighting expression, but of noble fighting, above the prizes of the passing world, the contempt for which is shown

in a peculiar attire whose blackness invades that little triangle of white which worldly men leave on their breasts for the necktie of frivolity and the decorations of vanity, and, blinding it, leaves but the thinnest rim of white collar, the priestly effect of the whole. Such is Don Miguel de Unamuno.⁶

During his lifelong stay at Salamanca, Unamuno encountered one of his most decisive struggles; it came in the year 1897, between the publication of two important works, En torno al casticismo and Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho. In Madrid he had experienced a great intellectual crisis and awakening; the crisis at Salamanca was to be more emotional, energetic, and profoundly religious. Mora expresses this very well:

Before 1897, and particularly between 1895 and 1897, we find Unamuno in a pitched battle with "purism" and traditionalism, which he declared to be empty and conventional. Local tradition, he argued, must be discarded in favor of universality. Repetition must give way to renovation: Spain must be prodded from the bog that held it fast. After 1897, however, and especially between 1897 and 1905, we find Unamuno absorbed in a tense and painful attempt at innerdirection. Here the Three Essays (tres ensayos) of 1900, with their

⁶J. E. Crawford Fitch in his introduction to Tragic Sense of Life, Miguel de Unamuno (London: Dover Publications, 1954), p. 10.

passionate inquiry into the problem--or rather mystery--of personality, individual and collective, is a salient landmark. Unamuno's "Inward!" replaces his cry of "Forward!" Don Quijote replaces Don Alonso Quijano; and the stuff of dreams, no longer a stumbling block, becomes the very substance of existence.⁷

Unamuno became rector of the University of Salamanca in 1901 and, in addition to holding this high office, he taught the history of the Castilian language. He held this position as rector until 1914 when he was relieved of the post because he had publically favored the cause of the Allies in the war against Germany. He was, however, subsequently appointed vice-rector.

Unamuno came more directly into the public eye and ear as a result of Primo de Rivera's coup d'etat in 1923. Unamuno was already opposed to the monarchy of Alfonso XIII, but when the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was sanctioned by a royal decree, Unamuno made his voice resound long and hard. The result of this was his exile to Fuerteventura, one of the Canary Islands. From here his protests reached an ever increasing public. He came to feel that his exile

⁷Mora, p. 13.

was one of the most important events in the life of twentieth-century Spain, and he swore to do his best to destroy the enemy. He adopted a war-like attitude towards the dictatorship and the dictator. He continued to write and speak against the monarchy and its sanctioned dictator from his exile.

The French newspaper to which Unamuno had contributed, Le Quotidien, arranged his escape from the island. He then went to France, and from here continued his attack against Primo de Rivera. The exile did not choose to return to Spain at this time, even though a pardon reached him from de Rivera on the very day he escaped from the island. Unamuno had been separated from his family now for over a year but he still did not return to his native country. Instead, he decided to live in France, and on his arrival in Cherbourg, his private war against the dictator reached world-wide proportions. Other writers and men in the public eye began to take up his cause and make it their own. Many newspapers carried stories and statements about Unamuno and his exile.

At 2, rue de la Perouse in Paris, Unamuno received

visits from noted and dull celebrities, for he was now one himself. The exiled professor was one of supreme intellectual caliber, but an intellectual very dissatisfied with it all:

To Unamuno the Paris of the twenties seemed to be a curtain that blocked his view of the Sierra de Gredos, which towered over Salamanca. Neither the spirited gatherings of the Rotonde--the famous Montparnasse café recently demolished to provide room for a moving picture theatre--nor the interminable walk through streets teeming with beauty and history lessened the feeling that Paris was an obstacle to his path. He continued to publish in the European and South American press, his fight against the dictatorship never waned, but his displeasure with the Spanish political situation inhibited any full cultivation of his religious and poetic spirit for a number of years. But his true vocation returned when he moved south to Hendaye within sight of the Spanish countryside across the border. No doubt this authentic vocation was more central than his political outbursts and manifestations, or the "Free Pages" (Hojas libres) he published in collaboration with Eduardo Ortega y Gasset and Vicente Blasco Ibañez. To him his arrival in Hendaye was like the end of the exile.⁸

In his writings of 1925 and 1927 (La agonía del cristianismo and Cómo se hace una novela) there had been

⁸ Mora, pp. 19-20.

outbursts of desperation; in Hendaye this desperation had a touch of hope. He was close to home now, and what was more important, he foresaw a return to his beloved Spain in the very near future. His keen mind had realized the situation of the de Rivera dictatorship and he was confident he would soon return to begin anew where he had left off. And yet, his stay here at Hendaye was externally no different than it had been in Paris. There were meetings of an informal nature at the Grand Café, interviews and many of his long walks.

When Primo de Rivera and his dictatorship fell in 1930, Unamuno was free to return once again to Spain. On February 9, he crossed the border toward Spain and entered Irún.

The Spanish nation welcomed him with the enthusiasm and cheers of a hero. Whole pages in the newspapers were dedicated to the return of their famous exile.

His return to Salamanca on February 11, 1930 was quiet and had none of the political demonstrations which was to characterize his arrival in Madrid in May of that same year. The wide acclaim and cheers of the smoldering

members of the political parties gave the impression that Unamuno had become a political leader. The fact was, that Unamuno had no such intention.

In February of 1931 when the Spanish Republic was proclaimed, the now aging, intellectual philosopher was overwhelmed with honors. He was officially exonerated and was elected a member of the "Cortes Constituyentes." Soon, however, he came to regard the new government with the same misgivings he had felt towards the monarchy and the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Being by nature and inclination a political individual, Unamuno felt that all three regimes had betrayed the soul and the very spirit of Spain, and thus of Christianity. As a young man, in the years when the idea of socialism was relatively young in Europe, he wrote for the Socialist journal, Lucha de clases in Bilbao. In his old age, when socialism had been transformed by real life, he rejected not only Marxism, but the whole Parliamentary concept. In the last few months of his life, a double political attitude is clear: he rejected the Left in theory, and

the Right in practice. It was probably the only possible stand he could take at that time.

In July of 1936, when the Civil War in Spain began, he identified himself with the attack on the Kerensky-like Republic; three months later, as a consequence of a speech as rector of Salamanca, he was removed by the authorities as rector. Four months later he lay dying.

An apocryphal story of the fatal last three months might not be true, but it bears the mark of inspired insight; it is said that on one occasion Unamuno was found being "roasted alive". Such was his quixotic apathy; he had set his feet up to warm before an open fire, and in a kind of indolence of spirit had allowed them to begin to smoke and the leather to peel from his boots as he sat there unwilling to rouse himself against immolation.

Unamuno had said that he wished to live to be ninety years old. He did not see the new year of 1937 begin, however, because he had died on the last day of 1936 at the age of seventy-two.⁹

⁹Miguel de Unamuno, Obras Selectas, Madrid Editorial Plenitud, 1960, Prologue, pp. 1-20.

In the rich and variegated oeuvre of Unamuno the so called "philosophico-theological" works are in a category by themselves. Three of these stand out from the rest: Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho, según Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, explicada y comentada (Madrid, 1905; 2d encl. ed., Madrid, 1914); Del sentimiento trágico de la vida en los hombres y en los pueblos (Madrid 1913); La agonía del cristianismo, Madrid, 1931 (French translation, L'agonie du christianisme, published in Paris, 1925). Chronologically, the Don Quijote belongs to the early period of his writing, Del sentimiento trágico, to the middle period, and La agonía, to the final period of Unamuno's life.

The London Tablet, in its obituary column, published a very striking analysis of the life of Unamuno. It is cited here in its entirety.

Spain - The Death of Miguel de Unamuno

Miguel de Unamuno, novelist, poet and philosopher, died at Salamanca last week at the age of seventy-two. This subtle writer, who had passed to the Nationalist side, recently declared to Professor Brouwer, as reported in the Tyd: "I was born during a civil war, my first recollections date from a civil war, and now I am concluding my days in a civil war. My whole life I have carried civil war

in my soul. Torn by uncertainties, and in search of a solution, while my soul howls for certainty, my whole being has been in revolt against the limitations of my life, the limitations of my understanding. I am a rebel against myself. My extremities are in mutual insurrection; my head kicks against my heart."

And he was no less a rebel against everybody else, for he argued to discover new ideas, and when he could not find them in himself, he wrung them out of his opponents. Both de Rivera and Azaña feared him, for he spared neither. And as his interviewer smilingly referred to his clearly siding with the nationalists, de Unamuno laughed: "I have never been in any position that is clear, for I never agreed with anybody not even with myself. The only thing clear about it is that this horrible war must cease. A country like Spain, a people like the Spaniards, need constructive leadership, for their history needs a peaceful evolution; that is why I supported the party in rebellion. I am as much afraid of the Fascist as of the Communist danger, for neither acknowledge the full spiritual, ethical, and social dignity of man. Fascism has no cultural influence on the mind. It has never produced an artist, a thinker. No, I am not choosing between Fascism and Communism, I loathe them both."¹⁰

¹⁰The London Tablet (Jan. 9, 1937: 169: 50-51).

Chapter II

Part B

Historical Milieu

Man fulfills his task of dominating the earth by changing nature into culture through his activity. Since man is insufficient in himself, he needs the help of material things and other people to perfect himself. He prepares these material things to help him in his work. Work is every human activity advancing culture, that is, changing nature into culture. Culture, the result of man's domination, is both objective and subjective.

Objective culture includes all the objective values which are realized by man's transformation of nature. This includes all scientific, artistic, linguistic, and social improvements. It is the sum total of man's perpetual quest to make the world a better place to live in--to make the world a more worthy milieu.

Subjective culture is the acquired culture of the individual person resulting from his growth in all

domains. The cultivated person is one who has made his own the data of objective culture, i.e. he has profited from the existing objective culture.

There is reciprocity between subjective and objective culture: a) subjective culture presupposes objective culture and receives from it; b) similarly, subjective culture enriches objective culture. One's originality leads to new inventions which better objective culture. That is one reason for education--education tries to develop each one's originality so that he may aid the progress of cultural (objective) development. Each person should contribute to culture as well as receive from it.¹¹

Unamuno was a man of his times. It was a world of strife and turmoil into which he was born. And yet, Unamuno could go beyond his time. He lived as few men have lived, in constant conflict and contradiction. It is precisely this living in inner strife which constitutes the core of his thought, of his literary work, of his significance in the world today.

¹¹MSS Penonzek, O.S.M., p. 65, Moral 1962-1963.

Contradiction in Unamuno had many roots. He read much. He absorbed the whole legacy of Western thought, from the Bible (he read especially the letters of St. Paul) and the classics (he was a professor of Greek and Castilian languages at Salamanca) up to the writings of his contemporaries.

Besides the ancient languages Unamuno read sixteen modern ones. When few Europeans cared about North American literature, he was already familiar with William James, Emerson, Whitman, Oliver Wendell Holmes and many others. He learned Danish for the purpose of reading Kierkegaard in the original, and became, under his influence, a forerunner of existentialist thought. He assimilated the words of Rousseau and Ibsen, Carlyle and Leopardi, Flaubert and Mazzini, Kant and Hegel, as well as those of Protestant theologians from Luther to such moderns as Ritschl, Harnack, Troeltsch and others. And of course he read the Spanish mystics from St. Ignatius Loyola and Francisco de Osuna, Bernardino de Laredo and San Pedro de Alcántara, to the two great masters, Theresa of Avila and St. John of the Cross.

What has been said thus far is, in short, that Unamuno was a thinker of his time; the decades between the eighteenth-seventies and the nineteenth-thirties. Unamuno must also be associated with that group of intellectuals who, following the romantic impulse, revolted against reason in the name of life: Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, Bergson, the irrationalists, pragmatists and vitalists--intellectuals all of them, who, reaching a point of saturation, reacted for "intellectual" reasons against the over-intellectuality of the times. What differentiates Unamuno from the rest of the group; however, is, thoroughly Europeanized as he was, he turned violently and ruthlessly against the European tradition. He made of quixotism a new religion and preached a crusade to bring back the knighthood of La Mancha, in order to ransom the European soul from bondage, and to restore the cult of reason and material happiness.

And yet, to understand the basis of conflict in Unamuno we must look further than the dualism of Being and Reason which he shared with his European contemporaries. The real source of Unamuno's significance as the incarnation

of tragic contradiction can be found, it seems to me, in the structure of Spanish history itself (from whence came his subjective culture).

Spain shares with other European countries the great tradition of the West: Hebrew, Greek, Roman and Christian cultures. But she has had other historical experiences which have set her apart. Her early national history is that of an age-old devotion to an ideal. We need only recall those eight centuries preceeding the reconquest of the Moors' last citadel: the scattered remnant of Spaniards driven northwards to those Asturian highlands which no conqueror of Spain could ever call his own; the Pyrenees becoming a "wall of China" and this remoteness creating a characteristic they call "españolismo" (by which they mean a complacent self-satisfaction with everything Spanish accompanied with a disdain for everything foreign); consequently, the formation of that "contemptible" little Spanish kingdom which was to come out from its northern stronghold to grow and extend its bounds knowing no rest, in order to win back Greater Spain--for the Cross! Recall

the successive stages of the Reconquest: the excellent statesmanship of Alphonso I--the exploits of the great and historical Cid--the amazing victories, such as Naves de Tolosa--and then the union of Castile-Leon precluding the recapture, first of Cordoba, and then Seville. This was followed by a century of quiescence; the great defeat of Salado; the reign of Alphonso XI; then another century of civil strife and stagnation; and finally the last act of the immense drama--the union of Aragon and Castile through marriage. Later the Christian armies appeared on the Vega of Granada; the success of Baeza; the final onslaught of Granada itself. Finally the proud January 2, 1492, when the Catholic Monarchs rode in triumph into the city.

And so we see that Spain experienced by the time of the Middle Ages eight centuries of living contact with two great Semitic cultures: the Arab and the Jewish. Further, she is the only modern European country which has passed through a complete imperial cycle, having created and lost the greatest empire the world has ever known. On the

threshold of modern times she was the Defender of the Catholic Faith, the Champion of the Counter Reformation. As a result by the end of the sixteenth century, she experienced a deadly isolation from European thought.

Thus the history of Spain became a permanent drama. On the one hand, she could not renounce her European tradition. On the other she could not compromise. So in the Age of Reason she held fast to the principles of the Fighting Catholic Faith which had come to be the very root of her national character, as well as the justification of her struggle against the stream of modern history. Since the eighteenth century Spanish intellectual life has been characterized by the efforts of enlightened minorities to keep up with the modern ideas and forms of life, while they underscored the essential traits of the national spirit. A country divided, Spain has lived for two centuries in a permanent state of civil war, violent at certain moments, concealed at others.¹²

¹²Miguel de Unamuno, Three Exemplary Novels, Intro. by Angel del Rio, cf. esp. Introduction pp. 17-24; translation by Angel Flores, Grove Press Inc., N.Y., 1956.

Unamuno's generation, the so called "generation of 1898," asserted itself by the intensity with which it felt this national discord. This generation of writers was composed mostly of artists and poets, of those highly subjective thinkers who were of the literary climate of the moment. Each writer expressed his own feelings on the perpetual crisis of the fatherland endeavoring to analyze the national disease and, at the same time, to open new frontiers for the future of Spain. Together these writers produced a high standard of literature which had not been seen since the Golden Age of Spain. And yet, after the initial impulse, these writers followed different paths. Unamuno, perhaps more than the others, continued to identify himself with the tragic problem of Spain. By wrestling with the conflict of the whole nation, Unamuno came to struggle, as few other men have, with the essential problem of life, of death, and of human existence.

And it was at this point that Unamuno looked about him and observed the position of the Catholic and Protestant intellectuals of his own time. If we are to gain

insight into the intricate mind and the agonized soul of Unamuno, it would be well for a moment to examine the religious world in which Unamuno found himself living.

Until twenty-five years ago Catholicism in Europe and even in the United States and other North American countries, breathed the atmosphere created by the Council of Trent and the Counter-Reformation. The ardent zeal which had its spark and had been engendered by the Christian humanists from Nicholas of Cusa to St. Thomas Moore, was all but forgotten. Both Protestants and Catholics were content to remain in their respective "fox-holes," entrenched against the enemy. As a result, a sort of "closed theology" developed on both sides. Each side was now on the defensive. The "Catholic Ghetto" and a corresponding "Protestant Ghetto" came into being. There were few who ventured outside these ghettos, and both together came to be known as the "Christian Ghetto" (Unamuno himself often failed to distinguish the two groups with their common name of "Christian Ghetto").

Unamuno saw the Christian world in contention and opposed camps. His attitude towards the so called "Ghetto

men" was bitter and resentful. In his own Spain he saw even before the civil war of 1936, the seeds of turmoil. He was in opposition to both camps in order that all might take account of the conflict. And so, it was these "Christian-ghetto-men" with their fear of mingling with, and facing the world, who were the targets of Unamuno's scornful and contemptuous attacks. Unamuno would have these men plunged into the ocean of life deprived of every anchorage so that they might learn again what it means to exist as human beings. He wished them to drown in God so that the eternal waters would arouse them from the illusive quiet in which they had allowed themselves to settle. He wanted them to remain in unconsciousness like a sponge in order that they might be swept backwards to the surface of the waters and finally find themselves at home in sight and touch and reality.

Unamuno, therefore, represents a reaction. He is in reaction to anyone who is not a man alive--who is not a man of "flesh and bone"--who is not a man who struggles in life, for life and about life. In short, the human

being, the man Unamuno is not a man unless he struggles. And this struggle is all about life, about existence, about what makes up life. And in St. Paul Unamuno sees an example of the true man, of a struggling man, the true Christian, indeed, the first Christian who is struggling for immortality, who is struggling for life!

Chapter III

St. Paul

Corporate Personality

The term, "corporate personality"¹³ is a convenient expression of the fact that in the Semitic mind there is a constant oscillation between the conception of the social group--family, tribe, clan, nation--as an association of individuals in the plural, or as a single living social organism about which one can more properly speak in the singular.¹⁴

This idea of "totality thinking" or corporate personality is a fundamental Hebrew pattern which explains many parts of the theology of the Bible. Actually, in practice

¹³On this phenomenon see S. A. Cook in Cambridge Ancient History, III, pp. 437-414; and in the third edition of W. Robertson Smith's Religion of the Semites, pp. 503 ff.; 655 ff.; The Old Testament; a Reinterpretation, pp. 115 ff.; H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality," in Werden und Wesen des Alten Testament (B.Z.A.W. 66), pp. 49 ff.; Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament, pp. 70 f., 81-89, 264; Johns Pedersen, Israel; A. R. Johnson, The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God, pp. 1-17; C. R. North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero - Isaiah, pp. 103-110.

¹⁴Cf. T. W. Manson, The Servant-Messiah (1956), p. 74.

we do the same thing: who does not tend to judge an entire nation or race or group meeting with one of its members--as if all the group was concretely present in the individual! The Semite has a basic feeling for totality. He tends to grasp the man and his actions in relation to the whole of which he is a part, or better, as a concrete embodiment of the totality of which he is the member-representative. This is the exact reverse of our tendency to groupify the person! He tends, therefore, to see in the individual the entire species.¹⁵

Accordingly, quite frequently the Hebrew sees the individual as a corporate personality, as the microcosm of the group. He is easily disposed to see an individual who contains, for either good or evil, all the others of

¹⁵In Genesis, 5.1-3 the one word "Adam" is used for both the individual--Adam and the collective human race; to see the collective group in the typical concrete individual, (in Daniel, 7, 13-14, and collective Messianic people in 7.22, 27); to see the entire dynasty creator, all decedents already present in their first forefathers (in 2 Samuel, 7.12-16; the Nathan oracle refers to Solomon, cf. 3 Kings, 8.15-20, and to the entire Davidic line, cf. 3 Kings, 2.1-4.

whom he is in some definite way the embodiment (as for example, the king). This is basic for an understanding of Pauline views on many key subjects (e.g. Resurrection); and for a comprehension of the role of Christ as the New Adam.

As this collectivity was in Christ from His very constitution by God, so is Christ abiding in this collectivity. He "contains" them because from the beginning they were "in" Him. All men are in this collectivity de jure; those only are in it de facto who have fulfilled the requirements for membership according to the divine will.

It is this idea of Christ as a corporate personality that is at the basis of Paul's theology of the crucifixion--not the juridical fiction of a ransom, a legal paying of a price to God or to the devil. Since we were in Christ on the Cross; we are also in Him at the Resurrection and we are now living the glorified life of Christ. We are Christs living on in the world. We are the Body of Christ.

From his Hebrew background, Paul knew well the concept of this corporate personality, the idea of an individual

who embodies and contains in himself the entire collectivity which he presents.¹⁶

St. Paul also knew the usage of the term "body" to express the entire personality of its externality, visibility and tangibility.

In the Damascus theophany, we see the thrice-repeated incident in the Paul-Christ dialogue.¹⁷ In itself this statement of Christ could mean no more than the ordinary identity of a leader and his followers in this common cause. But the absolute disparity between the state of the glorified and divinized Christ, and the poor persecuted Christians Paul had known, as well as the triple repetition of the dialogue, press the conclusion that there was more in it than this. This was Paul's first and never to be forgotten grasp of the ineffable identity of the risen, glorified Christ and His Church. Moreover, Christ had appeared to him at Damascus as a "Body," the emphasis

¹⁶ MSS Crossan, Dominic, O.S.M. Scripture 305, class 30, pp. 100-101.

¹⁷ Acts, 9: 4-6; 22: 7-8; 26: 14-15.

was on the externality of the glorified Christ, whose splendor blinded him.

Accordingly, St. Paul first grasped the Church not as a collection of individuals (as Unamuno was wont to do) but as Christ Himself in some sort of continuation, an extension of His externality on earth. The Church is the Body of Christ on earth--for this is the only way to express the ineffable closeness of the unity.

It is especially through the sacraments that we enter into the de facto unity with the Body of Christ. The role of the Eucharist was stressed in 1 Corinthians, 10:17--that which nourishes and increases this unity with the Body of Christ, since it is the Body of Christ; and since It is only one, we are still all united with one another in it.

The Church is the abiding presence of the Body of Christ, the externality and activity of His person, even extending in all-time and all-space. In 1 Corinthians, we can see this clearly:

1 Cor. 6.15-17 : reality of the
Body-unity

1 Cor. 10.17 : increase of the
Body-unity

1 Cor. 12.12-30: hierzarchy of this
Body-unity

Visibility
and
Externality
of the
Body-unity

THE CHURCH
AS THE
BODY
OF CHRIST

more than (like) the physical Body of Christ
(simile or metaphor)

mystical, supernatural, sacramental con-
tinuation and extension in space-time of
the physical Body of Christ.

less than some Pan-Christism in which there
is no distinctions of Christ and Christians
left.¹⁸

In this explanation, the Church remains always in
connection with the glorified humanity of Christ (sacra-
ments, grace, Holy Spirit) and the Church appears in all
her vital dynamism as the abiding and extending presence
of the glorified Christ on earth.¹⁹

¹⁸Crossan, MSS, Ibid., p. 103.

¹⁹Crossan, MSS, Ibid., p. 105.

On a practical level, and since it is always on a practical level that Unamuno comes close to the thought of St. Paul, the following might be the best way to explain the term "Body of Christ" in St. Paul without losing its richness or one's head in the process:

- 1) The Body of Christ is an external organ of our salvation--in its passion, resurrection and glorification.
- 2) The Church is like (simile) the actual body of Christ in both its supernatural being and supernatural activity which as such, and like Christ's is known only to faith. But there is more than this.
- 3) The Church is the actual Body of Christ continuing and extending its salvific activity to all places and all times; for the Church is more than like Christ, in the sacraments, in grace and in abiding Holy Spirit, Christ is directly in contact with his members.
- 4) Thus the externals of the Church flow from the externals of the Body of Christ as her invisible realities stem from the invisible realities of Christ. The Church's external and juridical side are also a continuation of the external side of Christ--in healing, forgiving, preaching, and teaching, admonishing, punishing. Her organization and structure are the continuation of the externality of Christ, without which His divinity could not have worked in His Divine Plan on earth.

We must keep in mind here that St. Paul settles another problem with his key idea of "Body of Christ." The problem is the diversity and comparative worth of the charismatic gifts that were causing factionalism at Corinth. The section explained above has led many people to argue that the term, "Body of Christ" is obviously a metaphor to show that the Church is (like) a human body in its unity-diversity-hierarchy. It is, but that is not exactly Paul's argument. He does not compare:

human body - - - - - The Church

but he compares a

human body - - - - - The Body of Christ
(= Church).²⁰

Since a human body has unity despite diversity-hierarchy, so also must the physical Body of Christ have this unity despite members in diversity-hierarchy. Since Christians are united to this Body, they are united in diversity-hierarchy and this is externally reflected in their charismatic gifts. Paul sees, for example, in those

²⁰Crossan, MSS, Ibid., p. 105.

with the charism of healing, the extension and continuation of the healing fingers of Christ; in those who teach the abiding presence of the voice of Christ.

Paul states his thesis in a parabola-structure and then develops it in a similar structure:

Comparison of Human Body with Christ's Body (1 Cor. 12)		
Parts	Human Body	Christ's Body
thesis (12-12)	unity despite diversity	unite despite diversity
	unity (12a)	unity (13b)
	diversity (12b)	diversity (13a)
development (14-30)	diversity (14-21)	diversity (29-30)
	hierarchy (22-26)	hierarchy (27-28)

The thesis is that a human body is a unity and yet has members in both diversity and hierarchy; so also with the Body of Christ--it is a unity and cannot be dismembered (1.13) and yet its members (transfers from physical members to Christians as members) show both diversity and hierarchy. It is to be noted that there is no mention (in the light of

what we have just said) in 1 Corinthians, 12:12-13, and 12:27, of a social body of Christians but only of a glorified Body of Christ still operative in the Church. Paul spends much time on the diversity of the organs of the human body because of the application to follow:

diversity
of
members
in the
body

all are members
(14-16)

all are members
(different) (17-20)

all are necessary
(21-22)

foot/hand
ear/eye

eye/ear
ear/nose

eye/hand
hand/feet

two
examples
are
cited
in
each
instance

Conclusions

Paul had already a clear grasp of the Church as the Body of Christ²¹ in mystical union with the glorified Christ, before 1 Corinthians, 12. In this latter section he cites the unity despite diversity and hierarchy of members in a human body; therefore, this same unity despite diversity hierarchy of members must exist in the glorified Body of Christ. But by Baptism we have received the spirit

²¹Damascus: 1 Corinthians, 6.15-17; 10.17.

of Christ. We have all been so closely united to the glorified Body of Christ that Paul can only express this unity by a statement of identity (as Christ had done near Damascus). Thus, this is not a metaphor by hyperbole!

Chapter III

Unamuno

Corporate Personality

At the very beginning of his Agony of Christianity, Unamuno proposes the question: "...is it possible to conceive of Christianity apart from each and every one of us?"

Unamuno tells us that here lies the root of the tragedy. This question poses the tragedy of Christianity, for Christianity is thereby tragic! For truth is something collective, social and even public. And accordingly, this is the reason why Christianity lies in agony in each and everyone of us (how like St. Paul who says that we are dying and resurrecting with Christ). The life of a person in agony is one continuous struggle, a struggle even against life itself, against death.

The terminology, "corporate personality" probably never crossed the mind of Unamuno. However, his "totality thinking" is very much in evidence throughout his works.

In coming to know St. Paul's mind Unamuno was wont to express himself in the same way Paul did. He imitates St. Paul in many ways. We cannot help but notice that at the very outset, when Unamuno is laying out his plan for his work (Agony of Christianity: the Introduction to the French Edition) he speaks almost as St. Paul would speak:

What I am going to reveal to you, dear reader, is my own agony, my own strife for Christianity, the agony of Christianity within me, its death and resurrection at every moment of my inner life.²²

Unamuno in speaking about this work has some very interesting insights which demonstrate his "totality thinking" and which later on in the book will appear as interpretations of the Pauline texts:

Is this book a soliloquy? It is my so-called critics who have asserted that I write nothing but soliloquies. Maybe a better term would be monodialogues; or better yet, auto-dialogues that is dialogues with my own self. And an auto-dialogue is not a monologue. The person who takes part in a dialogue, who converses with himself by dividing himself into two or three or more persons,

²²Agony of Christianity, p. 7.

or even into an entire people, does not soliloquize. Only dogmatists speak in monologues, by means of questions and answers, as is being done in catechisms. But we skeptics, we who are in agony, we polemical spirits do not soliloquize. As for myself, I carry my agony, my religious and secular struggle, too deeply in my spiritual entrails to be able to live on soliloquies. Job was a man of inner contradiction; so were Paul and Augustine and Pascal; and so I believe am I.²³

The whole mentality of Unamuno was individualistic-- indeed individualistic within a framework. This framework, judging from the layout of his Agony of Christianity, is within a "totality thinking" pattern. Time and time again we hear Unamuno speak of his "agony" as being that of Spain herself. In himself is realized the whole nation. In him is realized even the whole world. Perhaps most significant in this aspect is his last chapter of The Agony of Christianity where we hear him shout out:

The agony of my dying country has been superimposed in my soul on the agony of Christianity...I am experiencing the agony of the Spanish Christ, the Christ in His agony. I am experiencing the agony of Europe, of our so-called Christian

²³ Agony of Christianity, p. 13.

civilization, of Graeco-Latin and Western Civilization. These two agonies are really one and the same. Christianity and Western Civilization are mutually killing each other. They exist in killing each other...Facing the tomb of the unknown Frenchman--who is something more sacred than the average Frenchman--I experienced the agony of Christianity in France.²⁴

Agony for Unamuno is struggle.²⁵ And, "Christ came amongst us to bring us agony; struggle not peace. He told us Himself: 'Do not imagine that I have come to bring peace to the earth; I have come to bring a sword, not peace. I have come to set a man apart from his father, and the daughter from the mother, and the daughter-in-law from the mother-in-law; a man's enemies shall be the people of his own house'...(Matthew, 10: 34-37)."

This persistent "agony" in Unamuno is itself indicative of his "totality thinking." Unamuno, at all times, claims to be an individualist. His individualism, however, incarnates all that his culture and environment has given

²⁴The Agony of Christianity, pp. 145-146; 148.

²⁵The Agony of Christianity, p. 17.

him. It is clear that Unamuno always considered himself as the embodiment of the true Spaniard. He is a man that tries to live his convictions. And his convictions are such that he must forever be active. He must always be doing, i.e., in agony about life. His constant cry is, "To Do, To Do." And because he is in agonizing struggle all Christianity is so too. Even when speaking of Christ Unamuno does not hesitate to include himself:

"And like Christianity, Christ Himself is forever in agony...terribly tragic are our crucifixes, our Spanish Christs. They are indictive of a Christ not dead, already returned to earth, already at peace, a Christ dead and buried by others who are themselves dead, that is the Christ of the Holy Sepulchre, Christ lying in His tomb; but a Christ whom one adores on the cross is a Christ in agony, a Christ who cries out: "Consummatum est"! And it is to this Christ--the Christ who exclaims "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"²⁶--to Whom believers in agony pay homage.²⁷

The faith that Unamuno ascribed to St. Paul was one that seems illusive. He tells us that Faith is passive,

²⁶Matthew, 27.46.

²⁷The Agony of Christianity, p. 19.

feminine, the daughter of grace; not active, masculine, and a product of arbitrary choice. The beatific vision says Unamuno is for the world to come. Faith here below is a gift from Christ Who rises from the dead; it is not of the flesh.²⁸ It is given by that Christ Who had a virginal body, and the members of Whose body are the Christians,²⁹ according to the polemical phraseology of Paul.

Here we can see clearly that Unamuno, especially when speaking about what St. Paul wrote, was actually interpreting his ideas correctly. When he speaks about the Body of Christ and Christians belonging to it, he seems to have understood correctly Paul's thought. What Unamuno says about the faith of St. Paul, however, seems a bit prolonged and unrelated. Unamuno saw that St. Paul received the gift of faith through a rather unusual channel and thereby draws a general conclusion that, "the letter is seen, but the word is heard, and faith enters through hearing."³⁰

²⁸Romans, 10.7.

²⁹1 Corinthians, 6.16.

³⁰The Agony of Christianity, p. 74.

Concerning the whole "agonic struggle" which Unamuno sees in St. Paul, and which he feels is the whole of Paul's life, he comments:

The Apostle says of the polemic agony that he who fights, he who is in agony, is victorious over everything:

(1 Corinthians, 9.25). Paul himself, too, fought his good fight, lived his good agony:

(2 Timothy, 4.7). Was he victorious? In this kind of battle, to vanquish is to be vanquished. The triumph of agony is death, and this kind of death is perhaps eternal life. "Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven"; and "Let it be done unto me according to Thy word." The act of generation, too, entails an agony.³¹

This idea of "totality thinking" which Unamuno uses throughout his works is indicative of how he will interpret St. Paul when he speaks of that which is central to the theology of St. Paul, i.e., the Resurrection. We shall presently come to this important point. It is well to conclude this section with the words of Unamuno which echo the innermost longing of his soul: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken us?"³²

³¹Ibid., p. 77.

³²Ibid., p. 155.

Chapter IV

Paul

Resurrection

Within recent years there has been a continuous increase in awareness of the essential role of the Resurrection of Christ in the Divine Plan of salvation. This remedies a lacuna in speculo-systematic theology which so often stressed the salvific value of the Passion in the past that the Resurrection was treated as no more than a personal reward for Christ, or a general motive for increasing our faith in His mission. Much of this devaluation of the Resurrection stems from St. Anselm, whose juridical emphasis on the Passion as redemptive satisfaction made the Resurrection seem almost superfluous. Even the teaching of St. Thomas, whose biblical theology always disciplined his speculative, and who stressed equally Passion and Resurrection as efficient and exemplary causes of our redemption, could not change the mentality of theology. Cajetan, for example, saw

Christ paying a price for our sins by His Passion, and the Resurrection served only as a motive of our belief in His divine mission.³³

Some of the highlights of this modern reaction are mentioned in the note below--especially the work of Durrwell and the doctoral (S.S.D.) dissertation of Stanley.

³³For a complete coverage cf. F.X. Durrwell, The Resurrection, A Biblical Study (1960). This work is a translation by R. Sheed of the second French edition of La Résurrection de Jésus, Mystère de Salut; first published in 1950 and reviewed by M. C. Boismard in Revue Biblique 58 (1951), pp. 128-129; second edition was revised and enlarged, cf. Revue Biblique 63 (1956) 303, in 1956. Reviews of the English translation in the Catholic Biblical Quarterly 23, (1961), pp. 352-354 (by T. F. McHugh) and Theological Studies 22, (1961), pp. 287-288 (by D. M. Stanley); D. M. Stanley, "Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology" (1961) Analecta Biblica 13, reviewed in Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 24 (1962); pp. 234-235 (T. J. O'Rourke) and Theological Studies 23 (1961) pp. 652-653 (E. H. Maly); also the series of articles in Theology Digest 8 (1960) by S. Lyonnet, "St. Paul and a Mystical Redemption", p. 83-88; "Redemptive Value of the Resurrection", pp. 88-93; W. Van Roo, "The Resurrection: Instrument of Grace", pp. 94-98; C. Davis, "The Risen Christ and the Liturgy", pp. 123-126; also cf. Rev. H. McElwain, O.S.M., M.M.S. De Verbo Incarnato, (1960-61), pp. 113-116 (Stonebridge Priory, Lake Bluff, Illinois).

In Pauline terms: the Christian is in mystical identity with Christ in His death, thereby passing out of this earthly life he received from Adams with all its evil; he is also in mystical identity with Him in His resurrection, so that the life he now leads is one of union in the Resurrected Christ. Passion and Resurrection are two sides of the one action, the unique salvific event. It is in the light of this reappraisal of the Resurrection which owes itself directly to the scriptural renewal of modern times (probably stemming from Prat's work on St. Paul), that 1 Corinthians, 15 must be understood. We will now look into Pauline thought on the Resurrection in the light of this study.

(1) The Fact of the Resurrection (15. 1-34). Again we meet the insistence of the trained Pharisee, Paul, that he is speaking within a formal tradition, as a rabbinical teacher hands on the oral and the written Torah to his students in the schools: paralabete, estēkate, katechete --all Greek expressions of technical rabbinical expressions

for this process. The language of this first section (15.1-7) is non-Pauline and heavily Aramaic, i.e., an official teaching. Apparently the Corinthians were doubting the very possibility of bodily resurrection, as the Athenians had done before them (Acts 17.32) and Festus, the educated Roman, after them (Acts 26.23-23). They had not denied the resurrection of Christ--and Paul's reply will be to argue that these go hand in hand, our resurrection and that of Christ. What Paul had told them (paredōka) "as of first importance" (en protois) is the death and Resurrection of Christ as the fulfillment of the Scriptures --the core of the Apostolic kerygma (see p. 15 above). What Paul says of the post-resurrectional appearances of Christ is of special interest. It seems to have been part of a kerygmatic outline from oral preaching--and from the very earliest strata of the kerygma. Notice the symmetry of the adduced witnesses; as well as of the events themselves:

hoti Christos apethanen...	hoti egēgertai...
kata tas graphas...	kata tas graphas...
hoti etaphē (15.3)	hoti ōphthē (15.4)

ophthē Kēpha
 eita tois dōdeka
 epeita ... 500 brethren ... epeita
 ophthē Iakōboi
 eita tois apostolois pasin. (15.5-6)

There are various traditions, or remnants of the one tradition, of the post-Resurrectional apparitions of Christ preserved in the four Gospels, Acts and 1 Corinthians. In studying these traditions one must seek to avoid a facile concordism which ignores the possibility of literary differences in the record of the same event, and also the postulating of unicity of events where the differences in the literary records cannot be satisfactorily explained. The most likely explanation of all the records would seem to be the following:

Post-Resurrection Appearances of Jesus in the New Testament

Details of Apparition		Mentioned in the NT in					
Place	Recipients	Mk.16	Mt.28	Lk.24	1 Cor.15	Acts	John
Judaea	the "women"	9	9				20:11-18
	Emmaus disciples	12		13-32			
	Peter alone			34	5a		
	"the Eleven"			36-49?	5b		20:19-29
Galilee	"go to Galilee to see Jesus"	7 Peter	7,10	6:!!!			
	"the Eleven"	14-18	16-20				21:1-23 (Peter!)
	the "500"				6		
Judaea	James alone				7a		
	"all the apostles"			36-49?	7b	1,4,8 12	
Dan.	Paul alone				9	9;22; 26	

From this parallel study of the records we might draw up the following general conclusions:

(a) There are appearances of the Risen Christ in Jerusalem (Judea) and Galilee; these seemed to have been in the sequence of: Jerusalem-Galilee-Jerusalem (Ascensions).

(b) Mt-Mk have preserved only the record of the first Jerusalem apparitions to the women ("Mary Magdalene and the other Mary" in Mt.28:1,9; "Mary Magdalene" in Mk.16:9) and possibly to the Emmaus disciples if Mk.16:12=Lk.24:13-32; they both record the angelic message to the women to tell the apostles to go to Galilee (also by Jesus in Mt.28:10); thereafter Jesus appears to the Eleven in Galilee (explicitly in Mt; implicitly in Mk.)

(c) Lk. wishes to stress the Jerusalem source of the Messianic and eschatological event of the Church and so he omits (deliberately, I think: compare Mk.16:7+Mt.28:7,10 with Lk.24:6 on "Galilee"!) the Galilean apparitions and allows (?) all the Jerusalem apparitions (former and latter) to fuse into one. Possibly 24:36-49 pertains to the post-

Galilean Jerusalem apparitions. It is only from Luke that we know that Jesus "visibly" ascended from Jerusalem (Acts 1:4,8,12=Lk.24:36-52?).

(d) Jn. mentions both the initial Jerusalem apparitions to the women (Mary Magdalene in 20:11-18) and to the Eleven (20:19-29); and he mentions the Galilean apparitions explicitly and with very definite emphasis on Peter (21:3,7,11,15-19, etc.). Accordingly, Jn.21=Mk.16=Mt.28 as regards general content.

Accordingly, it seems we have to postulate a series of apparitions, first in Jerusalem (women, Emmaus, Peter, the Eleven) then in Galilee (the Eleven, the 500 brethren); finally, back in Jerusalem when the Apostles return from Galilee at the order of Christ--and lock themselves in (James and the others).

There is a very important opinion that the former Jerusalem appearances to Peter and the Eleven together are actually what took place in Galilee and that He only appeared to the women in Jerusalem to have the Apostles meet Him in Galilee.

If this hypothesis is right, Paul may be giving us a schematic but complete recapitulation of the three stages of the post-resurrection appearances in 1 Corinthians, 15 as follows:

- (a) in Jerusalem: to Peter and the "Eleven" (5)
- (b) in Galilee: to the five hundred brethren (6)
- (c) in Jerusalem again: to James and all the others there (7)

This very ancient kerygmatic formula is intended obviously³⁴ to stress the role of Peter in the apparitions of the Risen Lord.

Last of all Christ appeared to Paul--a post-Resurrection equal to, and more important than, that of the others. Another statement of the traditional nature of his teaching ends the passage as it had begun it (15:11=15:1-3).

³⁴J. H. Crehan, Saint Peter's Journey to Emmaus in CBQ 15 (1953), pp. 418-426 (thinks Peter was the unnamed companion of Cleophas in Lk. 24:13-32 and places Lk. 24:35 on Cleophas' lips). O. Cullmann, Peter, Disciple-Apostle-Martyr (1953) p. 59 says, "The risen Christ thereby put the seal, so to speak, upon the distinction which during his lifetime he had given Peter by naming him Cephas. The passage 1 Corinthians, 15:5, which names Peter as the first witness of the Resurrection, is perhaps the earliest Christian text that we possess."

This statement of the traditional kerygma was the necessary first principle for the arguments Paul is going to place against the idea of the Corinthians that they themselves will have no resurrection. This basis must be inviolable--so he takes it from pure kerygma. Next he proposes two main arguments against their position:

(a) The Theoretical Argument (15:12-28). This first theological or theoretical argument is built up both negatively (15:13-19: their point is incorrect) and positively (15:20-28: the Apostolic teaching is correct). In both cases his central point is this: Christ had de facto risen from the dead; since we were in Christ as a corporate personality, we too have already arisen de jure from the dead--its external manifestations in our bodies is merely postponed. Notice carefully that Paul's argument is not merely on the natural level: if anyone has risen (e.g. Christ) then all can and will rise. That could easily be abolished by stating that the resurrection of Christ was a special unique miracle. Paul's argument stems from our mystical identity with the Risen Christ. We are already risen from the dead.

(1) Negative Side (15:13-19). The literary structure of the argument is quite carefully worked out as follows:

- A. if dead do not rise (13a)
- B. then, Christ is not risen (13b)
- C. but if Christ did not rise (14a) then:
 - 1. Apostolic preaching vain; their faith useless (14b)
 - 2. Apostles are liars about God's actions (15a)
 - 3. if dead do not rise (linking to next section) 15b)
- A. if dead do not rise (16a)
- B. then, Christ is not risen (16b)
- C. but if Christ is not risen (17a) then:
 - 1. their faith is useless; they are still sinners (17b)
 - 2. and all dead Christians are lost forever (18)
 - 3. living Christians are to be pitied--fools! (19)

Notice that 15:16-17a repeats 15:13-14a. Also notice³⁵ 15:17: "if Christ is not risen...you are still in your sins," even after the Passion--so the Passion alone does not provide salvation; the Resurrection is an integral part of our redemption on the objective level. As the Greek fathers always insisted, the Resurrection is, equally with the Passion, a cause of justification--on the level both of efficient and exemplary causality, as St. Thomas explained.

This argument establishes the negative side: if dead do not rise as the Corinthians maintain then they will also have to deny the Resurrection of Christ--which they would not want to do.

(ii) Positive Side (15:20-28). Paul now proposes the conclusions from the de facto event of the Resurrection of Christ. Christ represented the group by the very fact of His being and of His role. At the first creation, Adam

³⁵B. Vawter CM, "Resurrection & Redemption" in CBO 15 (1953) 11-23; T. Worden, "Christ Jesus who died or rather, who has been raised up," in Scripture 10 (1958) 33-43; 11 (1959) 51-59.

had contained all mankind within Himself as a corporate personality; at the New Creation, the new Adam, contains all men within himself, de jure. Mankind died to the life they had received from Adam, and all that was contained within that life, at the death of Christ--in the corporate unity of the crucified Christ; so also at His Resurrection they arose to lead a life which is that of the Risen Christ, in the New Creation. Christ is the first-fruits of this New Creation and in His glorified humanity He communicated de facto to Christians what all men received de jure in His Resurrection. But all this must happen according to the plan of God: it will be only at the Parousia that our bodies will receive de facto what Christ's Resurrection obtained for them de jure; death is the last thing to be defeated. Only then, at the final Parousia, will the Son hand over to His Father the entire New Creation which is Himself and all redeemed and glorified mankind in body and soul--the entire glorified Body of Christ (15:20-28).

(b) The Practical Argument (15:29-34). The meaning of the opening words of this section has never been

ascertained with certainty. There seem to be two general alternatives:

(a) Paul refers to some Corinthian ritual in favour of the dead--so they must believe they will arise (but how would that belief effect the problem of bodily resurrection);

(b) Paul refers ironically and sarcastically to the ordinary Christian baptism as being, in the Corinthians' opinion, a baptism into the dead, since the dead cannot arise; instead of being a baptism into the living and glorified Christ.

The Manner of the Resurrection (15:35-58). Having argued the fact of our Resurrection in the future because it is already contained in the past Resurrection of Christ, Paul now turns to the manner. Here he is at the core of the Corinthian disbelief.

He begins with a double parallel from nature: just as one sows only the seed, and yet the full grain develops from it (15:35-38); and just as in nature there are different bodies but all still bodies (e.g. earthly bodies: man, beast, bird, fish; heavenly bodies: sun, moon, stars)--so

with our bodies. Next Paul uses these parallels to illustrate bodily resurrection. He makes three successive points:

- * body is raised as the opposite to its sowing (15:42-44);
- * body is raised in Christ; as sown in Adam (15:45-49);
- * body is raised in Christ at the Parousia (15:50-58).

15:42-44: In our natural state as sons of Adam, as all are contained in him, our bodies are: perishable, sordid, weak and natural. In our glorified state, as all are contained in Christ, they will be: imperishable, glorious, mighty, glorified (42a-44). In summary: there has been a natural body, there will also be a glorified one (44b).

15:45-49: Once again Paul reverts to the Adam-Christ parallel which is at the very basis of his entire theology of salvation. He uses this comparison for two controversies: that with the Judaizers on justification (Romans, 5:12-20) and that with the Corinthians on resurrection (1 Corinthians, 15:21-23; 45-49). But basically it is the same use. Already in 15:21-23 he has established the parallel: from

Adam, death; from Christ, resurrection. Now in 15:45-49, this parallel is made more precise. The "first Adam", who contained all mankind in himself as a "corporate personality," was a psuchē zōsa (living soul). And all mankind received from him their natural life--their sōma psuchikon (15:44 and 45a). But the "second Adam" (Christ) was a pneuma zōopoioun (life-giving spirit; i.e., suffused with the Spirit at His Resurrection, as first-fruits of the New Creation), and our sōma pneumatikon comes from Him (15:44 and 15:45b).

Adam came from the dust (ek gēs) in 15:47a, but Christ is from heaven (ex ouranou) in 15:47b. The meaning of this last word, ex ouranou, has been much discussed. Most probably it refers to the Parousia itself--that is when our bodies will be glorified on the model and by the efficacy of, the glorified body of Christ. This can be argued from the total context of 15:50-54--on the Parousia; from the parallel idea in 1 Th. 1:10 ("await His Son ek tōn ouranon") and 2 Th. 1:7 ("at the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ ap' ouranon"); and lastly, from the

parallel theme in Phil. 3:20-21 and 2:6-11: because 3:20-21 deals with the transformation of our bodies at the Parousia and does so with verbal and theological reminiscences of 2:6-11, which deals with the glorification of the body of Christ at His Resurrection and Ascension. Thus in Philippians there is promised for our bodies, at the Parousia, the same transformation (tapeinōsis and doxa) as was already accorded to Christ (etapeinōsen and doxa). 1 Corinthians teaches the same doctrine as Philippians: at the Parousia, Christ's glorified body will be the model and source for the glorification of ours.

Notice the passage in 15:49 where Paul calls our natural bodies the eikōn tou choikou (image of the earthly one) and our glorified bodies the eikōn tou epouraniou (Image of the Heavenly One). This is the first step of a complete Eikōn theology in Paul which will develop in Corinthians, Romans and Colossians. This is the first point: man's body is an image of the earthly body of Adam in itself; at the Parousia it will be in the image of the glorified Body of Christ; as it was always contained in Adam's, so was it always contained in Christ's.

15:50-58: Paul now focuses closely on the Parousia and our glorification, leading up to a triumphal shout of victory.

There is a problem in the reading of 15:51. It can be either:

- * all shall not sleep, but all shall be changed;
- * all shall sleep, but not all shall be changed.

The former has the support of Vaticanus and most later manuscripts and means that the living at the time of the Parousia will be immediately glorified--without death. The latter reading has the support of Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus, and means that all must die but only the good will be glorified. The former reading is certainly the correct one (BJ) in view of 1 Thessalonians, 4:16-17 and 2 Corinthians, 5:1-4.

When our bodies are glorified, then will the work of Christ be completed: 54-57 recapitulates 15:20. Thus Paul envisages a great cosmic salvation in process--rather in actualization of what has already been realized in Christ for all-time and all-place. Christ is glorified and is communicating this to His Church on earth until the final consummation at the Parousia.

Chapter IV

Unamuno

Resurrection

Unamuno devotes a whole chapter in his Tragic Sense of Life (Chapter IV), to St. Paul and the essence of Catholicism. For Unamuno, all that Catholicism possesses concerning the Resurrection was originated by St. Paul... "Let us now approach the Christian, Catholic, Pauline, or Athanasian solution of our vital problem, the hunger for immortality."³⁶

This "discovery" says Unamuno was prepared by the Judaic and Hellenic religious processes, and was, specifically, a Christian discovery. And its full achievement was due above all, to Paul of Tarsus, the Hellenizing Jew and Pharisee.³⁷

Unamuno feels that because St. Paul had not known Christ personally, he "discovered" Christ. In saying this,

³⁶ Tragic Sense of Life, p. 58.

³⁷ Ibid., cf. p. 62.

Unamuno quotes from Weizsacher the following:

It may be said that the theology of the Apostle Paul is, in general, the first Christian theology. (Das apostolische Zeitalter der Christlichen Kirch. Freiburg-i-B., 1892).³⁸

And Unamuno himself continues:

And although Paul did not know Christ, he felt Him born again in himself, and thus Paul could say, " ' Nevertheless, I live, not I, but Christ lives in me' (Galatians, 2:20). And Paul preached the Cross, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness." (1 Corinthians, 1:23), and the central doctrine for the converted Apostle was that of the Resurrection of Christ.³⁹

Unamuno states that the important thing for St. Paul was that Christ had been made man and had died and had risen again, and not what He did in this life--not his ethical work as a teacher, but His religious work as a giver of immortality. And it was St. Paul, Unamuno reminds us, who wrote those immortal words: "Now if Christ be preached that He rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then Christ is not

³⁸ Ibid., p. 62.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

risen, and if Christ is not risen, then is our preaching vain, and our Faith is also vain...Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable." (1 Corinthians, 15:12-16).

The reminder of Unamuno that "it is possible to affirm that henceforth he who does not believe in the bodily resurrection of Christ may be Christophile but cannot be specifically Christian. It is true that Justin Martyr could say, that "all those who are Christian who live in accordance with reason, even though they may be deemed to be atheists, as among the Greeks, Socrates, and Heraclitus, and other such"; but this Martyr is he a Martyr--that is to say witness--of Christianity? No.⁴⁰

Thus it was, Unamuno tells us that this dogma, inwardly experienced by Paul of the resurrection and immortality of Christ was the guarantee of the resurrection and immortality of each believer. Indeed, the whole of Christology for Unamuno is built up in St. Paul around this doctrine of the resurrection.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 63.

Unamuno continues to explain St. Paul's position by saying that the end of redemption, in spite of appearances due to an ethical deflection of a dogma properly religious, was to save us from death rather than from sin, or from sin insofar as sin implies death. And, "Christ died, or rather rose again, for me for each one of us. And a certain solidarity was established between God and His creatures."⁴¹

And because Unamuno understood the mind of St. Paul concerning this point so well (and we repeat, that Unamuno did not believe as St. Paul believed), he was able to bring together the elements in St. Paul which had so much bearing on the resurrection and the living of the full Christian life.

A close connection is seen by Unamuno between The Sacrament of the Eucharist and the Resurrection. "And by this central dogma of the Resurrection in Christ and by Christ corresponds likewise a central sacrament, the axis of popular Catholic piety--the Sacrament of the

⁴¹Ibid., p. 63.

Eucharist. In it is administered the Body of Christ, which is the bread of immortality. This sacrament is genuinely realist--dinglich, as the Germans would say--which may without great violence be translated "material." It is the sacrament most genuinely ex opere operato, for which is substituted among Protestants the idealistic sacrament of the word. Fundamentally, it is concerned with--and I say it with all possible respect, but without wishing to sacrifice the expression of the phrase--the eating and drinking of God, the Eternalizer, the feeding upon Him."⁴²

The question asked at Nicaea, Quid ad aeternitatem, Unamuno asks again. He answers what was given in the Creed of that Council: "resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam venturi saeculi" (the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come). In commenting on this phrase in connection with the Resurrection, Unamuno, quotes a poem written on a tombstone in the cemetery of Mallona (his native town of Bilbao):

⁴²Ibid., pp. 66-67.

Aunque estamos en polvo convertidos en Ti
Señor, nuestro, esperanza fía, que tornaremos
a vivir vestidos con la carne y la piel que
nos cubría.⁴³ (Though we are become dust,
In Thee, O Lord, our hope confides that we
shall live again clad in the flesh and skin
that once covered us).

"With the same bodies and souls that they had"...So
much so, that it is Orthodox Catholic doctrine that the
happiness of the blessed is not perfectly complete until
they recover their bodies. They lament in heaven, says
our Brother Pedro Malon de Chaide of the Order of Saint
Augustine, a Spaniard and a Basque (Libro de la Conversión
de la Magdalena, part IV, Chapter IX) and "this lament
springs from their not being perfectly whole in heaven,
for only the soul is there; and although they cannot
suffer because they see God, in Whom they unspeakingly
delight, yet with all this it appears that they are not
wholly content. They will be so when they are clothed
with their own bodies."⁴⁴

Unamuno, in his eternal "way-laying" of reason in
favor of sentiment and feeling, gives us an example from

⁴³Ibid., P. 66.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 66.

St. Theresa to illustrate how even she "felt" about the Eucharist in relation to the resurrection to come:

"Little wonder if St. Theresa tells us that when she was communicating at the monastery of the Incarnation and in the second year of her being Prioress there, on the octave of St. Martin, and the Father, Fray Juan de la Cruz, divided the Host between her and another sister, she thought that it was done, not because there was any want of Hosts, but because he wished to mortify her, 'for I had told him how much I delighted in Hosts of a large size. Yet I was not ignorant that the size of the Host is of no moment, for I know that Our Lord is whole and entire in the smallest particle.' Here reason pulls me one way, feeling another. And what importance for this feeling have the thousand and one difficulties that arise from reflecting rationally upon the mystery of this sacrament? What is Divine Body? And the Body in so far as it is the Body of Christ, is it Divine? What is an immortal and immortalizing Body? What is substance separated from accidents? Nowadays we have greatly refined our notion of materiality and substantiality. ...And this sacrament

of the Eucharist is the immortalizing sacrament "par excellence," and therefore the axis of popular Catholic piety.... For what is specific in the Catholic religion is immortalization and not justification in the Protestant sense."⁴⁵

Unamuno knew that the true Christian makes himself another Christ⁴⁶ "St. Paul knew this well: he experienced Christ being born, being in agony and dying within himself."⁴⁷ Unamuno could now relate this "being born, being in agony, and dying" to other human beings: "and so, it is not only with respect to Christ but with respect to every human and divine power, with respect to every living and eternal human being whom one comprehends with a mystical understanding, where the knower and the lover become the known and the beloved."⁴⁸

Because Unamuno contradicts himself many times in many ways, it is difficult to specify what he is in fact

⁴⁵Ibid. p. 67.

⁴⁶The Agony of Christianity, p. 24.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 24.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 26.

saying. We have seen that his thought is close to that of St. Paul. But, were we to quote other passages from these same two books we have been quoting so extensively, we might very well come to a different conclusion than the one proposed. The fact is, Unamuno had a keen grasp of what St. Paul was saying. When a man understands the mind of another and still does not believe what that other manifests in words, then we are fairly certain of an objective interpretation, and that is good. Unamuno plays on words. And the words of St. Paul, are for Unamuno, no exception. After telling us in a rather vivid way the thought of St. Paul, Unamuno proceeds to cloud that vision with uncertain words:

Christianity, or rather Christendom, from the time of its birth in St. Paul, was not a doctrine, although it expressed itself dialectically. It was a way of life, it was struggle, it was agony. The doctrine was the Gospel, the Good Tidings. Christianity, Christendom, was a preparation for death and resurrection, for eternal life. "If Christ is not risen from the dead, then we are the most miserable of men," said Saint Paul.⁴⁹

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 28.

For Unamuno Christianity was the cult of a God-Man, Who was born, suffered, was in agony, died and rose again from the dead in order to transmit His own agony to those who believed in Him. For, the Passion of Christ was the center of the Christian cult. And the Eucharist, the symbol of His passion, is the body of Christ Who dies and is buried in each and everyone of those who are united with Him in Communion. But when Jesus died and Christ was reborn in the souls of all the faithful, to perpetuate His agony in them, then the belief in the resurrection of the flesh originated and with it the belief in the immortality of the flesh ("as the Hebrews would understand it")⁵⁰ of the soul (as the Greeks interpreted it) came to full fruition in the agony of St. Paul, a Hellenized Jew, a Pharisee, who expressed it stammeringly in his powerful polemical Greek idiom.⁵¹

Commenting on St. Paul (and now he interprets), Unamuno says: "P. L. Couchoud is correct when he says (in *Le Mystère de Jésus*, pp. 37 and 38) that the Gospel 'does not

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 31.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 31-32.

pretend to be history, a chronicle, a factual narrative, a biographical document'; it calls itself "Glad Tidings." And St. Paul calls it "Mysterium" (Romans, 10:15-16). It is Divine Revelation."

To save face with the Christians, and to convince himself that he and St. Paul are actually saying the same thing, Unamuno attempts a summary of what he has been saying in difficult words. His final comments in The Agony of Christianity, in Chapter II, "What is Christianity", give us his whole outlook on St. Paul and his idea of resurrection: "...and Saint Paul, the spiritualistic Pharisee, sought the resurrection of the flesh in Christ, not in a physiological but a historical Christ....And this is why there is doubt--dubium--and struggle--duellum--and agony. The Epistles of Saint Paul offer us the most sublime example of an "agonic" style. This style is not dialectical but agonic, for in Saint Paul's Epistles there is no dialogue, but strife and polemic dispute."⁵²

⁵²Ibid., pp. 33-35.

Chapter V

Paul

Christian Life

To understand well St. Paul's conception of the Christian life, it is imperative that we give at least a summary exegesis of at least one pertinent passage in St. Paul concerning this important point. We have chosen to take the fourth chapter of his Epistle to the Ephesians.

It is interesting to note at the outset, that this definite statement of Pauline theology (Chapter IV) in Ephesians, has a much larger parenthetical than doctrinal section: out of 155 verses, 64 are doctrinal and 85 moral (2 introduction, 4 are conclusion). For Paul, life in the Risen Christ is what counts and doctrinal and parenthetical distinctions are only different ways of looking at this life.⁵³

⁵³For a clear exposition of this point cf. H. Liese, "In vinculo pacis." (Ephesians, 4:1-6), in Verbum Domini: 13 (1933), pp. 289-294; F. Ogara, "Solliciti servare unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis," also in Verbum Domini: 15 (1935), pp. 292-301.

Here we meet the basic themes which characterize Paul's ideas on Christian life, Body-unity, the charismatic gifts (externals thereof). This seems to be Paul's most fundamental conception of the Church's life in its totality. In the realm of active life the Church is essentially the Body of Christ abiding in history with both its externals and internals--the externals are the charismatic gifts which are the outward expression of the dynamism of the Pneuma of the resurrected Christ; its internals are the virtues and most especially, love, which are also born of the Spirit's force within this Body-unity. These three themes of Body-unity, Charisms and virtues occur in 1 Corinthians, Romans, and Ephesians and within the parenthetical section of each Epistle mentioned. It is impossible to consider this juxtaposition as merely fortuitous--it must represent a basic idea of Paul on the Church's life. And quite obviously, this undercuts a discussion of charismatic Church vs juridictorical Church: for jurisdiction is a charism of the Church.⁵⁴

⁵⁴Crossan, Dominic, O.S.M., MMS, SS. 308, p. 103.

The following table gives the comparative relationship of these themes:

BASIC PAULINE THEMES OF CHRISTIAN LIFE				
Literary elements	1 Cor.	Rom.	Col.	Eph.
Body-unity (in externals)	12:12-27	12:4-5	3:15	4:13-16
Charisms (externals)	12:28-31	12:6-8	3:16-17	4:7-12
Virtues - Love (internals)	13:1-13	12:9-13	3:12-14	4:1-6

1. The Virtues of Body-unity (4:1-6). Humility, meekness, patience and love are the virtues. Notice the Trinitarian source of salvation: Pneuma (4:4), Kurios (4:5) and Patēr (4:6); and man's "triple" acceptance of this Trinitarian salvation by agapē (4:3), elpis (4:4) and pistis (4:5). And all of this coalesces into perfect unity by the seven-fold repetition of the seven "one"s in 4:4-6. The hen sōma kai hen pneuma (4:4) refers, of course, to our unity in the one glorified Body of Christ suffused totally and efficaciously by the Pneuma of the New Creation at the Resurrection. Notice also the close

connection of "one faith, one baptism" (4:5). All of this serves to warn us against any spirituality of virtue which sees them as isolated personal adornments of the individual. One's own virtues are always part of the Church and their lack or their presence reflects on the entire Body-unity.

2. The Charisms of Body-unity (4:7-12). This is an extremely important facet of Paul's discussion of Body-unity. Paul's point is that the entire activity of the Church is the external and visible manifestation of the Pneuma of the Risen Christ within the Church. In the early Church these charismatic gifts were usually accompanied by miraculous manifestations which were necessary to assist the faith of the Church's infancy but would gradually disappear as faith rendered them (i.e., the miraculous part) unnecessary. But these gifts themselves are still existing in the Church but are seen only in faith--the hierarchic structure, the schools, the hospitals, the charities of the Church are all charismatic evidence of the Pneuma within her; only the externally visible

miraculous overtones are no longer present. All these charismatic gifts come from the risen Christ as such (4:7-10=Phil. 2:6-11). The list of gifts is the shortest of all the lists in Paul--1 Corinthians 12:8-10 mentions 9; 12:28 has 8; 12:29-30 records 7; Romans 12:6-8 has 7 also; but Ephesians 4:11 which is the chronologically final list, is also the shortest with only 5 charisms mentioned (apostles; prophets; preachers; "shepherds," teachers). Thus, the lists get shorter each time Paul records them and in this final case all the gifts pertain to the teaching-ruling function of the Church.

Whenever apostoloi are mentioned in these lists, they always appear in the first place (1 Corinthians 12:28; 12:29; Ephesians 4:11); "prophets" appear in all five lists, and "teachers" appear in four lists. These two charisms are the same ones mentioned in Acts 13:1, and these titles may well have designated specific and important functions in the early Church; for example, in 1 Corinthians 12:28 only apostles, prophets and teachers are specifically spelled out as first, second and third. The

following is only a suggestion: the dual function of the Apostles was to be the witnesses to the Jesus-tradition in every Church, and especially to His resurrection, and also to be the official interpreters of the Old Testament prophecies with regard to the person and activity of the Messiah and the advent of the eschatological era.⁵⁵ Possibly, then, the teachers and prophets were considered as the respective heirs of these two Apostolic functions--the prophets explained the Scriptures and the teachers expounded the Jesus-tradition.

3. The Body-Unity (4:13-16). In all the cases where Paul develops this parenthetical theme of the Body-unity as source and end of the external diversity of virtues and gifts, he uses (implicitly or explicitly) the analogy of

⁵⁵B. Gerhardson, Memory and Manuscript. Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis, 22; 1961), p. 234, "And the Apostles were considered to be the bearers both of the tradition of Christ, and of the correct interpretation of the Scriptures." For an analysis of this very important work see, J. A. Fitzmyer, "Memory and Manuscript. The Origin and Transmission of the Gospel Tradition," in The Studies 23 (1962) pp. 442-457.

the human body with its unity, hierarchy, diversity and growth. But Ephesians alone is the fullest expression of this idea of Body-unity, for it mentions all four points: unity, diversity, hierarchy and growth; also, in Ephesians, the analogy of the human body is never explicitly mentioned--as it was in 1 Corinthians 12:12 (kataper gar) or Romans 12:4 (kathaper gar). A quick comparison of the development of the theme in all four loci makes this clear:

The Meaning of Body-Unity in St. Paul					
Literary Elements		1 Cor. 12	Rom. 12	Col. 3	Eph. 4
as human body in	<u>unity</u>	12a	4a		
	<u>diversity</u>	12b, 14-21	4b		
	<u>hierarchy</u>	22-26			
	<u>growth</u>				
so Christ's Body in	<u>unity</u>	13b	5a	15b	13a
	<u>diversity</u>	13a, 29-30	5b	15a	12
	<u>hierarchy</u>	27-28			15b-16a
	<u>growth</u>				13b-15a, 16b

Thus, Ephesians is once again the "definitive statement" (unity, diversity, hierarchy, growth) in this case, of the Body-unity of the Church and Christ.

Once again we meet the term plērōma in 4:13--in the same sense as in 1:23 and 3:19 and once again with emphasis on the necessity of the plērōma being filled up and perfected. The end of this is:

eis andra teleion,
eis metron ēlikias tou plērōmatos tou Christou
(4:13)

The "perfect man" is not the Christian individual but rather the individual-collective Christ who is not "perfect man," until the full plērōma has been realized at the Parousia. Notice the residue of Colheresy here in 4:14--the special emphasis on the hierarchy of Christ within the Body-unity (4:15). The Spirit, which is the power (energeia) of the Body flows into the members only in and through their risen Head.

4:17-24: Paul reverts to the theme of Gentile sin, as he did earlier in Romans 1:18-32 and Ephesians 3:1-2; but in this passage it is not a question of eras but of

the present abiding reality of sin among the Gentiles in this present world. It is quite clear that Paul knew all too well that there was danger of his converts falling back into sin and deserting the unity with the Risen Christ. On 4:23-24 see p. 89 above.

B. Particular Precepts (4:25-6:20). There now follows a list of specific precepts which shows in some detail how the Christian life is to be led in practice. With some artificiality we can divide the ideas as follows:

1. Christ in personal and social life (4:25-5:20).⁵⁶

The admonitions include: lying (4:25a), wrath (4:26-27), theft (4:28) and foul or abusive speech (4:29-31), and they are prohibited either on the grounds of our member-relationship to one another (4:25b) or on the presence within us of the Pneuma of the Risen Christ (4:30). To counteract these vices Paul proposes the virtues of kindness, mercy, and forgiveness (4:32). Notice, in 4:32,

⁵⁶ H. Liese, 'Filii lucis, non iam tenebrarum' (Ephesians 5:1-9), in Verbum Domini 12 (1932), 33-38.

that we are to forgive one another as (kathōs) God forgave (echarisato) us in Christ, which is another proof that Paul never sees Christ's work as some sort of juridico-economic repayment of a debt to God (Shylock-theology). Our gratuitous forgiveness of one another is the perfect reply we can make to God's gratuitous forgiveness (=loving liberation) of us in Christ.

Another series of admonitions is overtured by 5:1-2 which has some unusual features in it. Paul invites his readers to be "imitators" (mimētai) of God. This is not found elsewhere in Paul. Usually he himself is proposed as the one to be imitated (1 Thessalonians, 1:6; 2 Thessalonians, 3:7; Philippians 3:17; 1 Corinthians, 4:16; 11:1; Galatians, 4:12). But these latter were the churches which he himself had founded so they knew him personally.⁵⁷ This refers to the accepted rabbinical tradition that the disciples of a Rabbi looked upon their master's actions and words as official interpretation of the Torah and were

⁵⁷ D. M. Stanley, 'Become imitators of me': The Pauline Concept of Apostolic Tradition, in Bib 40 (1959), pp. 859-877.

to be imitated as such.⁵⁸ Paul was aware, no doubt, of his special role in the spread of the Church as Suffering Servant to the Gentiles but, in this case, the same appeal could be made to all who follow the Pneuma-life. Notice that there is no question of constituent being in this imitation of God. The being of the Christian comes exclusively from his participation in the Risen Christ (Colossians, 3:1-4) and his actions are the external manifestation of that participation. It is only on the most practical level that Paul uses this idea of "imitation"--there is a close bond here between 4:32 and 5:1-2. Paul's theology is one of "participation" and this "imitation" is adduced here only with regard to forgiveness. Notice the emphasis on love as pre-eminently that whereby the life of the Risen Christ is manifested in the world--this is why it is the second of the theological virtues in Paul (=life as continuance).

⁵⁸B. Gerhardson, op. cit., pp. 292-293, "...Paul treats all he says, writes or does for a congregation as a kind of transmission: the passing on of revelation, of the message of joy, of teachings, recommendations and authoritative directions--all from God."

Paul then mentions some very serious vices which he considers worthy of excommunication; Ephesians, 5:5 does not merely refer to possible eternal damnation but to present expulsion from the people of God (cf. 1 Corinthians, 5:1-5 + 9-13; 6:9-11). There is the usual sapiential antithesis of negative/positive throughout this section (do not; but rather do). The short invocation of 4:14 must have been taken from some early Christian hymn (it is not biblical) and possibly from the baptismal liturgy (cf. Hebrews, 6:4; 10:32).

2. Christ in Domestic Life (5:21-6:9). The theme of this section is given in 5:21--mutual reverence. This takes up and develops the parenthetical and domestic section of Colossians, 3:18-4:1. The sequence is the same in each case but Ephesians is much more developed (21/9 verses) than Colossians. Each of the three parts begins with the "subordinate" party (wives, children, slaves):

Parallel Sequences in Col 3:18-4:1 and Eph 5:21-6:8			
Literary Elements		Col 3:18-4:1	Eph 5:21-6:8
I	wives to husbands	3:18	5:22-24
	husbands to wives	3:19	5:25-33
II	children to parents	3:20	6:1-3
	parents to children	3:21	6:4
III	slaves to masters	3:22-25	6:5-8
	masters to slaves	4:1	6:9

(a) Wives and Husbands. This is the longest of the three sections on domestic life (12/4/5 verses) and the second part of it on husbands to wives is twice as long as the wives to husbands part (7/3 verses). Only in this section is there detailed allusion to the Christ-Church relationship as the basis for the practical relations of the involved parties.

(i) Marriage as Symbol of Christ-Church Unity. This is the first and most obvious level of Paul's teaching in 5:21-33. The Christian marriage-bond is modelled on that between Christ and His Church and serves to symbolize that relationship in all its facets. The structure of each

statement begins with (1) marriage, then refers to (2) the Christ-Church unity as comparison, and finally (3) reverts to marriage. Thus the structure is a repeated statement, comparison, restatement:

5:22-24: Wives to Husbands. This considers the relationship of wives to husbands in the tri-partite order mentioned above:

statement (22): women must obey their husbands (hai gunaikes...tois andrasin);

comparison (23-24a): the reason is the comparison to Christ-Church unity; for (hōs...alla hōs) Christ is head of the Church and so the Church must obey Him as Head and Saviour;

restatement (24b): back again to marriage--thus (houtōs) wives must obey their husbands (kai gunaikes tois andrasin).

5:25-31: Husbands to Wives. This is the other side of the marriage relationship. It is the more difficult demand of the two for surely it is easier to obey like the Church than to love like Christ! Paul uses the same triple

statement-comparison-restatement sequence here again but he does it twice with two different points of comparison: Christ's love of preparation whereby He saved the Church, and Christ's love of consummation whereby He continually nourishes the Church:

Love of preparation (5:25-28a)

(1) statement (25a): husbands must love their wives (hoi andres agapate tas gunaikas);

(2) comparison (25b): to Christ and the Church (kathōs), who proved His love for her by death whose effects are mentioned in a triple "in order that" (hina) in 26 (purified by baptismal participation in His death), 27a (without spot--negative), and 27b (be holy and pure--positive);

(3) restatement (28a): he reverts again to the statement (houtōs...hoi andres agapan tas heautōn gunaikas).

But in 5:28b ("as their own bodies") he adds a new theme--that in loving their wives husbands love those so closely united to themselves as to be one flesh with them. This starts a second cycle of statement-comparison-restatement, as follows:

Love of consummation (5:28b-31)

statement (28b-29): this statement coalesces with the restatement of 5:28a--husbands must love their wives in the special love of bodily unity peculiar to conjugal love. If this love is of one's own very flesh, with what tenderness (thalpei) is it to be understood.

comparison (30): again the reference (kathōs) to Christ-Church unity for this is precisely love within Body-unity as Paul has always insisted, because "we are members of His Body."

restatement (31): this is a quotation of Genesis 2:24 on a man's leaving parents to cleave to his wife.

5:32-33: these verses serve as a recapitulation with the same basic structure of statement (32a), comparison (32b) and restatement (33):

statement (32a): is that "to musterion touto mega estin". This is the same use of musterion encountered elsewhere in Paul. It means the divine plan for Christ-Church unity in the salvific liberation of mankind into the life of the Risen Christ. But it is called a "mystery" to stress that only now is it become clearly revealed as

God's eternal plan--before this it was a "mystery" (cf. 1 Corinthians 2:10; Ephesians 3:10-11). In this entire passage, culminating with a reference to marriage as an institution in Genesis (5:22-31), Paul has been considering marriage in relation to the Christ-Church event. Marriage, then, is also a mystery because what it was to symbolize has only now become apparent. Just as the Mystery is only now fully revealed in Christ and the Church so the Genesis-institution is only now fully revealed for what it was. Marriage is mysterion in so far as it was the symbol of the mysterion.

comparison (32b): marriage had this "mystery-being" only in so far as it was intended by God eis Christ and the Church, as symbol of their unity.

restatement (33): which recapitulates the entire section: love for one's wife, reverence for one's husband.

(ii) Marriage as Sacrament of Christ-Church Unity.

In order to study this question we shall have to preface a few introductory remarks. Since the time of the Council

of Trent it has stressed that there are seven Sacraments, no more and no less. No doubt this was a necessary statement to offset Protestant denials of some of these sacraments. But it also tended to obscure one very vital fact: there is only one supernatural life available to man--the life of the Risen Christ; there is only one place where he can get in touch with this life, in the sacramental liturgy of the Church. Therefore, the basic fact is that the total sacrament, the plenitude of sacramentality is the Body of Christ, the Risen Christ within the liturgical Church. Thus one is extremely happy to find that the first statement of principles on the liturgy from the Council's schema "De Sacra Liturgia" refers to Christ as the foundation and primordial sacrament and of the Church as the continuation thereof.⁵⁹

The life of the Risen Christ which is also the life of the Church is communicated to her members in her sac-

⁵⁹ In L'Osservatore Romano for December 8, 1962 an article entitled, "I principi generali della riforma liturgica approbati dal Concilio" was published and is translated in Worship 37 (1963), pp. 153-164.

ramental liturgy in all its phases--Mass, sacraments and sacramentals and in the continual liturgical re-presence of the salvific events of her own advent. Thus we have seen that Baptism initiates the believer into the life of the Risen Christ in the Church (Galatians 3:27) and the Mass-Eucharist is abiding communion--participation in the death-resurrection event made sacramentally present. In the Eucharist we receive the Risen Christ (1 Corinthians 10:17).

(b) Children and Parents (6:1-4). Based on Exodus 20:12--this develops slightly the text of Colossians 3:20-21.

(c) Slaves and Masters (6:5-9). Notice the standard biblical hyperbole of "fear and trembling" in 6:5, cf. 1 Corinthians 2:3; 2 Corinthians 7:15; Philipians 2:12. Develops slightly Colossians 3:22--4:1.

(d) Spiritual Combat (6:10-20). Entire Christian life summed up as spiritual combat, cf. Isaias 11:4-5; 59:16-18; Wisdom 5:17-23 and also 1 Thessalonians 5:8; 2 Corinthians 6:7; 10:4; Romans 13:12. This theme is

very frequent in Qumran documents also.

A statement like Ephesians 3:13 is to be taken literally and realistically. For Paul, suffering is the outward sign of our participation in the Christ-event; it is therefore something to be glad about because it is the tangible, visible help for our faith that we have also participated in the rest of this Event and will ultimately participate in the doxa of the Pneuma (cf. Colossians 1:24; Romans 8:17).

Chapter V

Unamuno

Christian Life

The Christianity of Unamuno and, consequently his Christian life, is a life explained only in terms of struggle. It is a Christianity in agony. But "agony then is struggle."⁶⁰ And Unamuno tells us plainly that "Christ came amongst us to bring us agony: struggle, not peace. He told us so Himself: 'Do not imagine that I have come to bring peace to the earth; I have come to bring a sword, not peace. I have come to set a man apart from his father, and the daughter from her mother, and the daughter-in-law from her mother-in-law; a man's enemies shall be the people of his own house' (Matthew 10:34-37)."

Because "Christianity represents that universal spirit which has its roots in the deepest inwardness of human individuality,"⁶¹ the Christian life for Unamuno is

⁶⁰The Agony of Christianity, p. 17.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 3.

one lived and explained only through a personal strife

"Since Christianity is a strictly individual and thus simultaneously a universal problem, what I am going to reveal to you, dear reader, is my own agony, my own strife for Christianity, the agony of Christianity within me, its death and resurrection at every moment of my inner life."⁶²

Unamuno insists that in the religious sphere, and more especially in the sphere of the Christian religion, it is impossible to discuss questions of general, religious, universal interest without imparting to them personal or rather individual characteristics. He says that every Christian in order to demonstrate his Christian existence, must of necessity say to himself: "ecce Christianus," as Pilate said "ecce homo!" The Christian must lay bare, as it were, his Christian soul, the soul which he has created for himself in the course of his struggle, his Christian struggle. And since "it is the goal of life to create for oneself a soul, an immortal soul, a soul

⁶²Ibid., pp. 6-7.

which is the fruit of our own travail," then "we bequeath a soul--our own creation--to history."⁶³

Unamuno testifies that people often speak of the "struggle for life," but this struggle for life, according to him, "is life itself...and its totality, it is simultaneously the struggle itself"--the "Struggle":⁶⁴ And if life is a struggle, and the universal will-to-live is a struggle, then it manifests itself in struggle. Unamuno never tires of repeating, "that what unites each individual man with himself, what produces the innermost unity of our lives, is our inner discords, the internal dialectic of our discords. And like Quixote, 'we can make peace with ourselves except in dying.'"⁶⁵

Unamuno in saying that all life is struggle concedes that we are all members of society. Indeed, his extreme individualism leads him to portray thus the Christian life:

⁶³Ibid., p. 7.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 8.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 9.

But since the Christian is a member of society, a civic being, a citizen, how can he be disinterested in social and civic life? Alas, the fact is, that Christianity demands absolute Solitude, the fact is, that the ideal of the Christian life is the life of a Carthusian who leaves father and mother and brothers for the sake of Christ, who renounces the wish to become a family man, a married man and a father. But this ideal is impossible of fulfillment if the human race is to survive, if Christendom in the sense of a social and civic community of Christians is to survive, if the Church itself is to survive! And herein consists the real terror of the agony of Christianity."⁶⁶

Although Unamuno would have liked to lay before his readers an ideal Christian way of living, he could not. His rugged individualism did not permit him to do so. He says that the real terror of the agony of Christianity is the fact that it has as its ideal an impossible task. He says in another place that "it is the hermit only who approximates the ideal life of the individual Christian."⁶⁷ And then proceeds to tell us again, "But the truth is that individual Christianity is to be found no where except in the state of celibacy; Christianity in the hearth of the

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 81.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 94.

family is no longer pure Christianity but rather a compromise with the world."

It is to be remembered that Unamuno lived as a family man (he had nine children) and yet he considered himself a true Christian struggling for immortality. Contradiction? Yes, always and ever. This was Unamuno's contribution to society. His constant contradiction was his way of living life. In contradiction he lived and died.

Unamuno also gives us a distinction of two classes of Christians: those of the world, of the saeculum--saecula means generations--the Christian of civil life, those who raise children destined for heaven; and then there are the pure Christians, the cloistered religious, the monachas, the former propagate the flesh and with it original sin, while the later propagate the solitude of the spirit. It is possible, however, to carry the world into the mist of the cloister, to contaminate the claustrum with the saeculum and, conversely, to harbor the spirit of the cloister in the middle of the world.⁶⁸

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 95.

These two categories of Christians, according to Unamuno, if they are dedicated to the religious life, live in inner contradiction and thus in agony. The religious who safeguards his virginity, the monk who preserves the seed of that flesh which he believes destined to rise again, who accepts the title Father, or Mother in the case of nuns, dreams of the immortality of the soul, dreams of his survival in history.

If the entire Christian life is one of struggle, what of peace? Is there such a thing as peace even for Unamuno's pure Christian? His answer is typical when he says that peace (this kind of peace) can grow only out of war, just as a certain kind of war can be won only in peace. And this precisely is agony for Unamuno.

Christianity for Unamuno is itself defined "agonistically," polemically, in terms of struggle. He observes that perhaps it is even more important to determine what Christianity is not. Christianity is certainly no "ism," no philosophic doctrine like Platonism, Aristotelianism,

Cartesianism, Kantism, or Hegelianism. This glorious word rather denotes the quality of "being - a - Christian." As "humanity" denotes the quality of being human, so "Christianity" has come to serve as designation for the Christian quality of a supposed community of Christians, a Christian society. But this is "obviously an absurdity, since society kills Christianity, which is always an affair of solitary individuals."⁶⁹

Finally, the Christian life for Unamuno is a life which cannot be described in terms other than "agony." Christianity is not concerned with culture or civilization but with eternal struggle. And yet, since Christianity cannot live without civilization and culture, its duty lies in perpetual agony. So it is for the Christian living in Christian civilization. And Christianity as well as the civilization which we call Graeco-Roman and Western lives by virtue of this agony: the death of one would mean the death of the other. "If Christian faith--

⁶⁹
Ibid., p. 24.

that despairing and agonic faith--were to die, our civilization would also die; and if our civilization dies so does Christian faith. And thus it is that we are destined to live in agony."⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 86-87.

Chapter VI

Conclusion and Summary

Unamuno said that he had carried civil war within his soul all his life, he said that he was continually torn by uncertainties; he complained that his whole being had been in revolt against the limitations of his life--the limitations of his understanding. He considered himself a rebel against his extremities and himself; his extremities were in mutual insurrection against each other. His heart kicked against his head! This Basque, this man called Miguel de Unamuno, who was in a continuous struggle with himself, died not wanting to die. He wanted to live on in himself, in a world of "flesh and bone," but was helpless when death finally did come. And his whole attitude toward life was characterized by what he himself called an "agonic struggle."

Unamuno took his "agonic struggle" into the field of religion where he felt more at home because of his background and temperament. It was in religion, or rather, in

the atmosphere of religion and its language that he wished to develop this "agonic struggle." He wanted in some way to rest his weary soul. Unamuno looked to the teaching of St. Paul for some answer to his inquiring spirit. And yet, the passion in Unamuno refused to acknowledge what his head was telling him concerning this religion which he attributed to St. Paul. St. Paul was offering Unamuno a real solution to his polemic. St. Paul proposed a "total commitment" to the living, resurrected Christ of the Gospels. Unamuno could not tear himself from himself to make this total giving of self to another--and yet, even though he refused to accept the solution offered by St. Paul, he continued to use the ideas of St. Paul and even his language, to explain his "agonic struggle" for life. Further, Unamuno refused the total theology of St. Paul because he could see that this very theology had another advocate, the Catholic Church--and Unamuno was much too individualistic to accept the teachings of "one" Church. And so, it was not his reason that lead Unamuno to reject

Catholic dogma but rather his heart that caused him to reject it. Indeed, his head was kicking against his heart!

Almost in parallel columns we have placed the ideas of Miguel de Unamuno and those of St. Paul as regards specific topics. We have never in this study said that Unamuno believed as St. Paul believed. We have noted that Unamuno seemed to know the mind of St. Paul much better than was formerly thought. By giving parallel passages in St. Paul we have attempted to show that Unamuno did indeed understand what St. Paul was in effect saying, and which ideas have only recently come to the fore in the light of modern Scripture studies.

We have shown that Unamuno is today gaining a wide audience both in Spain and outside of Spain. Indeed, Unamuno is one of the few Spanish intellectuals that has been read, re-read, and evaluated outside of Spain in modern times.

Unamuno is a man that would not, and even today cannot be classified. Neither as a political figure can he

be placed into a "party," or even as a literary man are we able to categorize him. As far as his religious views go, we cannot pin a tag on him either. His religion was to do the things Unamuno wanted to do--he wanted to plant a seed, be it of discord or tranquility and then see it blossom. He wanted to unite men with nations and nations with men. He wanted--he simply wanted "to do." And so, a struggle that was unending... his religion was one that promised a "struggle for immortality" and not the immortality itself because that immortality was not real!

St. Paul was, for Unamuno, the first great mystic, the first Christian in the proper sense of the word (in the proper sense of Unamuno, of course). St. Paul was the founder of Christianity as Unamuno saw it.

It was necessary to include a short biography so that the reader might be more adequately prepared to meet this polemical and struggling man called Miguel de Unamuno. This man, for such he wanted to be called, simply "a man of flesh and bone," was truly a man of his times. In the very life of Unamuno one is able to see many signs of the

total polemic, a polemic that was to become a part of his very living. If Unamuno defines man, and thus himself as one "who struggles for immortality," then one is justified in calling his whole life one of total polemic. And his "Basqueness" was itself a stepping stone to this type of living and writing: his contradictions and constant bickerings may be seen in early manhood at Madrid. His years at Salamanca matured his outspoken thought so that he did not find it difficult to speak out vehemently against the political leaders of his day. Unamuno lost his childhood faith in the Catholic Church, sincerely attempted to regain it but could not.

Unamuno became a celebrity and was heard around the world through the medium of the press. He considered his exile from Spain as one of the great events in his life, and indeed, one of the great events in the history of Spain. From exile he continued to write war against the political machine that exiled him. He wrote more books and then returned finally again to Spain. He was given a hero's welcome on his return to Spain and was elected

to a government position. His outspoken views again got him into trouble with the government and he retired to his home in Salamance to watch the civil war smolder into fire. Unamuno died at the age of 72 having wished to live to be 90.

In Chapter II we have tried to place ourselves in the historical milieu in which Unamuno was born that we may more adequately understand his critical position and his ideas concerning St. Paul. Unamuno's objective culture has orientated him to a way of thinking to which he gave in and became victim. A moral fall as regards his childhood faith is the only way which history can judge his falling from this faith into radical doubt. History may do him an injustice in this regard but it can only judge from the writings he has left us and these seem to point to a loss of faith through negligent understanding. As a result, contradiction and constant "agonic struggle" become his norm of life. Unamuno re-discovered Kierkegaard and Carlyle. He re-read Mazzini, Kant, and Hegel. His interest in Ritschl, Harnack, Troelsch, alongside

Ignatius of Loyola and Francisco de Osuna, became commonplace with him. St. Theresa of Avila and St. John of the Cross are also among his favorite authors. And he read the Epistles of St. Paul with much joy. He associated himself with the group of intellectuals who, following the Romantic impulse, revolted against reason in the name of life; Nietzsche, Bergson, the irrationalists, pragmatists, and vitalists.

Unamuno looked about him and observed the position of the Catholic and Protestant intellectuals of his day. He did not like what he saw. He lashed out, consequently, against them with a vehemence and bitterness which only Unamuno could convey. He became resentful about anything that smacked of dogma and even though he himself had previously been "Europeanized," he turned violently and ruthlessly against everything in European tradition--dogmatism being one of the typical European traits according to him.

Unamuno made a new religion out of "quixotism" and preached a crusade to bring back the knighthood of La

Mancha. In this way he proposed to redeem the European soul from its bondage. His approach was positive in this regard and he gave practical norms how this transformation should be brought about.

Taking an overall view of Unamuno's two major works, Del sentimiento trágico de la vida en los hombres y en los pueblos, and La agonía del cristianismo, we have seen that although the term "Corporate Personality" probably never occurred to Unamuno, nevertheless, his writings in these two works indicated a pattern similar to the Semitic totality-thinking of St. Paul. Our contention is, that Unamuno, because of his superior understanding of the classics and especially Greek (he was professor of Greek at Salamanca) was able to understand well the mind of St. Paul--though he did not believe as St. Paul believed.

A careful study of St. Paul and his totality-thinking is then considered. And in almost parallel columns we have been able to see the development of Pauline thought as seen in some important passages in Unamuno--again, we

repeat, that Unamuno did not believe what St. Paul was saying, he simply knew what in fact St. Paul was saying. And the overall plan of Unamuno's Agonía de cristianismo seems to us to fit into the general pattern of this type of thinking.

The awareness of the essential role of the Resurrection in the theology of St. Paul was a factor which Unamuno greatly appreciated. Many years before modern scripture studies were pressing this important point, Unamuno had already "re-discovered" it and was boldly proclaiming it: he tells us that it is a tragic fate without a doubt to have to base the affirmation of immortality upon the insecure and slippery foundation of the desire for immortality; but to condemn this desire on the ground that we believe it to have been proved to be unattainable, without undertaking the proof, is merely supine. He goes on to ask the question typical of Unamuno "I am dreaming...? Let me dream, if this dream is my life. Do not awaken me from it. I believe in the immortal origin

of this yearning for immortality, which is the very substance of my soul."⁷¹

Unamuno proceeds to tell us in the same chapter of his Tragic Sense of Life, that it is related in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles how wherever St. Paul went, the Jews, moved with envy, were stirred up to persecute him. They stoned him in Iconium and Lystra, cities of Lycaonia, in spite of the wonders that he worked therein; they scourged him in Philippi of Macedonia and persecuted his brethern in Thessalonica and Berea. He arrived at Athens, however, the noble city of the intellectuals, over which brooded the sublime spirit of Plato--the Plato of the gloriousness of the risk of immortality; and there St. Paul disputed with the Epicureans and Stoics. And some said of him, "What doth this babbler () mean?" and others, "He seemth to be a setter forth of strange gods,"⁷² and they took him and brought him unto

⁷¹Tragic Sense of Life, pp. 47-48.

⁷²Acts, 17, 18).

Areopagus, saying, may we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speakest, is? for thou bringest certain strange things to our ears; we would know therefore, what these things mean."⁷³ And then follows that wonderful characterization of those Athenians of the decadence, those dainty connoisseurs of the curious, "for all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing."⁷⁴ A wonderful stroke which depicts for us the condition of the mind of those who had learned from the Odyssey that the gods plot and achieve the destruction of mortals in order that their posterity may have something to narrate!

Here St. Paul stands, then, before the subtle Athenians, men of culture, who are ready to welcome and examine every new doctrine, who neither stone nor scourge nor put him in prison--here he stands where liberty of conscience is respected and every opinion is given attentive hearing. And

⁷³Acts, 17, 19-20.

⁷⁴Ibid., 17, 21.

he raises his voice in the midst of the Areopogies and speaks to them as it was fitting to speak to the cultured of Athens, and all listen to him, agog to hear the latest novelty. But when he begins to speak to them of the resurrection of the dead, their stock of patience and tolerance comes to an end, and some mock him and others say: "We will hear thee again of this matter!" intending not to hear him. And a like thing happened to him at Caesarea when he came before the Roman praetor Felix. But when he spoke of the judgment to come, Felix said, terrified (): "Go thy way for this time; when I have convenient season I will call thee."⁷⁵ And his audience before King Agrippa, when Festus the governor heard him speak of the resurrection of the dead, he exclaimed: "Thou art mad, Paul; much learning hath made thee mad."⁷⁶

And thus Unamuno lays the groundwork for his yearning for immortality: he tells us plainly afterwards:

⁷⁵ Ibid., 24, 22-25.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 26, 24.

Whatever of truth there may be (may have been) in Paul's discourse in the Areopagus, and even if there were none, it is certain that this admirable account plainly shows how far Attic tolerance goes and where patience of the intellectual ends. They all listen to you calmly and smilingly, and at times they encourage you saying: "That's strange!" or, "he has brains!" or, "pity that a thing so beautiful should not be true!" or, "this makes one think!"--But as soon as you speak to them of resurrection and life after death, they lose their patience and cut short your remarks and exclaim, "enough of this! We will talk about this another day!" And it is about this, my poor Athenians, my intolerant intellectuals, it is about this that I am now going to talk to you here.⁷⁷

We can see from the above quotation that Unamuno was of the mentality of St. Paul in his exalted exposition of the resurrection and the after life. Unamuno never defined what he meant by the after life, as indeed St. Paul never defined it. Unamuno's only concern was what he as a man

⁷⁷Tragic Sense of Life, pp. 49-50.

might achieve in this life which would give him assurance of another life--he wanted desperately to live on in "flesh and bone":

Unamuno was so convinced of the central teaching of the resurrection in St. Paul that he was able to cry out, "and it was around this dogma, inwardly experienced by Paul, the dogma of the resurrection and immortality of each believer, that the whole of Christology was built up."⁷⁸ And Unamuno would go no further but would comment that this God-man, this Incarnate Word, came in order that man, according to his mode, might be made God--that is, immortal. And Unamuno also said that this Christian God, the Father of Christ, a God necessarily anthropomorphic, is He Who, as the Catechism of Christian Doctrine which he was made to learn by heart at school says, created the world for man, for each man. And so the end of redemption according to Unamuno, and in spite of appearances due to an ethical deflection of a dogma properly religious, was

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 63.

to save us from death rather than from sin, or from sin in so far as sin implies death.⁷⁹ And so Unamuno can conclude by saying that Christ died, or rather rose again for me, for each one of us. And thus a certain solidarity was established between God and His creature--so like St. Paul would have said it!

The role of present day Scripture studies on this concept of Pauline thought cannot be overstated. Unamuno realized what St. Paul was saying--and yet, he could not apply what he knew to his own life and consequently to the living of the men of his own time. Perhaps that is, and will remain the difference between Miguel de Unamuno and modern Catholic and Protestant Scripture commentators. Unamuno had keen insights into the mind of St. Paul but could not make it concrete for himself or his readers. It was his individualism again which hindered his response. Unamuno failed to appreciate the other side of

⁷⁹Cf. Chapter IV, ibid., "The Essence of Catholicism," esp. pp. 63-64.

the coin in St. Paul, the "community" aspect or more properly speaking, the "communal aspect of the Mystical Body of Christ".

We have not tried to force any of the quotations appearing in this work. We have likewise tried not to quote out of context. But the fact remains, that in quoting the man, Miguel de Unamuno, one is never fully satisfied with that quotation as evidence. And that is precisely what the man wanted us to do--he wanted his readers to reflect on what he had said and make application themselves. He wanted to make other men think for themselves even when reading others.

Unamuno contradicts himself as much as four times in a single page. His whole life was a contradiction! His works are fruits of his life--they are fruits of his living his own life of contradiction. And so, we feel that the quotations in this study achieve their purpose--the purpose of Unamuno himself--to plant a seed where others may reap for themselves!

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APPENDIX

The following poem was first read to graduate students at Loyola University as part of a seminar paper on 'Generation 1898.' The subject of the paper was "Miguel de Unamuno".

This poem was recently published in Cadence the Loyola University, Chicago, magazine of poetry.

MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO

September!

pains grow acute in Bilbao
with the sturdy Basque wrapped
in the delicate folds of a child.

He comes of age
probing even the mystics to become
goad to the conscience of his fellows
and disturb the place of nightful watch.

Paradoxical always!

That is why I can disturb the quality life
in a nation smoldering to Ganivet
and from my chair at Salamanca,
already do I see

Abulia!

making knots of my people so that
I had to beat my life away
tearing theirs to shreds of clay
as wandering tides to shores of bay.

No longer does my Spain empire possess
except in pride where we will build
the nation of the race that swallows
pride
effects of 1898!

It was then I began the war against my God
when my nation went to dream
and would not die to resurrect again
nor sought to tilt the tide of man.

Spain hurts me terribly

and I cannot stand my Christian solitude
am afraid of the authorities
of this life and of the next
that is why to struggle is my lot in life.

Flesh

a nostalgic longing for the life
that lies at the bottom of my lake
built by San Manuel, Good Martyr
the city submerged
where bells are yet to toll
a farewell that I cannot, will not
see in the depths of my unceasing activity.

To Do! To Do!

Peace in the war and Spain is tied
unto the soul of Spain herself.

Obscurant theocracy!

Dogma is dead--let it be
for you and me my Spain

THE TRAGIC SENSE OF LIFE IN MEN AND NATIONS

The solution we will find in Spain with
Quijote and Sancho who live with us today.

And yet! I die like mortal man--
I do not want to die

I want to think my thoughts away
Because I've lived without my Christ.

Albert M. Gallegos, O.S.M.

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Albert M. Gallegos, O.S.M. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Spanish.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

Oct. 1, 1965
Date

James Graham-Lujan
Signature of Adviser